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**THE WORKS OF WALTER SCOTT.**

**VOL. CLI.**



FOR THE YEAR 1880

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GEORG. I.



THE  
WORKS  
OF  
WALTER SCOTT, Esq.

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VOL. CLI.

TALES OF A GRANDFATHER.

THIRD SERIES. VOL. II.

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ZWICKAU,

PRINTED FOR BROTHERS SCHUMANN.

1830.



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**T A L E S**  
**OF A**  
**GRANDFATHER;**  
**BEING**  
**S T O R I E S**  
**TAKEN FROM**  
**SCOTTISH HISTORY.**

**HUMBLY INSCRIBED TO HUGH LITTLEJOHN, ESQ.**

**THIRD SERIES.**  
**IN FOUR VOLUMES.**

**VOL. II.**

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**ZWICKAU,**

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TABLE

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## CHAPTER VIII.

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THE reports of invasion from France — of King James's landing with a foreign force, abundance of arms, ammunition, and treasure, and the full purpose to reward his friends and chastise his enemies — the same exaggerated intelligence from England, concerning general discontent and local insurrection, which had raised the north of Scotland in arms — had their effect also on the gentlemen of Jacobite principles in the south of that country, and in the contiguous frontiers of England, where a number of Catholic families, and others devoted to the exiled family,



were still to be found. Ere the hopes inspired by such favourable rumours had passed away, came the more veracious intelligence, that the Earl of Mar had set up James's standard in the Highlands, and presently after, that he had taken possession of Perth — that many noblemen of distinguished rank and interest had joined his camp, and that his numbers were still increasing.

These reports gave natural impulse to the zeal of men, who, having long professed themselves the liege subjects of the Stewart family, were ashamed to sit still when a gallant effort was made to effect their restoration, by what was reported to be, and in very truth was, a very strong party, and an army much larger than those commanded by Montrose or Dundee, and composed chiefly of the same description of troops at the head of whom they had gained their victories. The country, therefore, through most of its districts, was heaving with the convulsive throes which precede civil war, like those which announce an earthquake. Events hurried on to decide the doubtful and embolden the timorous. The active measures resolved on by government, in arresting suspected persons throughout England and the southern parts of Scotland, obliged the professed Jacobites to bring their minds to a resolution, and either expose their persons to the dangers of civil war, or their characters to



the shame of being judged wanting in the hour of action, to all the protestations which they had made in those of safety and peace.

These considerations decided men according to their characters, some to submit themselves to imprisonment, for the safety of their lives and fortunes — others to draw the sword, and venture their all in support of their avowed principles. Those gentlemen who embraced the latter course, more honourable, or more imprudent perhaps, began to leave their homes, and drew together in such bodies as might enable them to resist the efforts of the magistrates, or troops sent to arrest them. The civil war began by a very tragical rencounter in a family, with the descendants of which your grandfather has long enjoyed peculiar intimacy, and of which I give the particulars after the account preserved by them, though it is also mentioned in most histories of the times.

Among other families of distinction in East Lothian, that of Mr Hepburn of Keith was devotedly attached to the interests of the House of Stewart, and he determined to exert himself to the utmost in the approaching conflict. He had several sons, with whom, and his servants, he had determined to join a troop to be raised in East Lothian, and commanded by the Earl of Winton. This gentleman being much respected



in the country, it was deemed of importance to prevent his showing an example which was likely to be generally followed. For this purpose, Mr Hepburn of Humbie and Dr Sinclair of Hermandston resolved to lay the Laird of Keith under arrest, and proceeded towards his house with a party of the horsemilitia, on the morning of the 8th of October, 1715, which happened to be the very morning that Keith had appointed to set forth on his campaign, having made all preparations on the preceding evening. The family had assembled for the last time at the breakfast-table, when it was observed that one of the young ladies looked more sad and disconsolate, than even the departure of her father and brothers upon a distant and precarious expedition seemed to warrant at that period, when the fair sex were as enthusiastic in politics as the men.

Miss Hepburn was easily induced to tell the cause of her fears. She had dreamed she saw her youngest brother, a youth of great hopes, and generally esteemed, shot by a man whose features were impressed on her recollection, and stretched dead on the floor of the room in which they were now assembled. The females of the family listened and argued — the men laughed, and turned the visionary into ridicule. The horses were saddled, and led out into the court-yard, when a mounted party was discovered advancing



along the flat ground, in front of the mansion-house called the Plain of Keith. The gate was shut; and when Dr Sinclair, who was most active in the matter, had announced his purpose, and was asked for his warrant, he handed in at a window the commission of the Marquis of Tweeddale, Lord Lieutenant of the county. This Keith returned with contempt, and announced that he would stand on his defence. The party within mounted their horses, and sallied out, determined to make their way; and Keith, discharging a pistol in the air, charged the Doctor sword in hand; the militia then fired, and the youngest of the Hepburns was killed on the spot. The sister beheld the catastrophe from the windows, and to the end of her life persisted that the homicide had the features of the person whom she saw in her dream. The corpse was carried into the room where they had so lately breakfasted, and Keith, after having paid this heavy tax to the demon of civil war, rode off with the rest of his party to join the insurgents. Dr Sinclair was censured very generally, for letting his party zeal hurry him into a personal encounter with so near a neighbour and familiar friend; he vindicated himself, by asserting that his intentions were to save Keith from the consequences into which his rash zeal for the Stewart family was about to precipitate that gentleman and his



family. But Dr Sinclair ought to have been prepared to expect, that a high-spirited man, with arms in his hands, was certain to resist this violent mode of opening his eyes to the rashness of his conduct; and he who attempts to make either religious or political converts by compulsion, must be charged with the consequences of such violence as is most likely to ensue.

Mr Hepburn and his remaining sons joined the Jacobite gentry of the neighbourhood, to the number of fifty or sixty men, and directed their course westward towards the Borders, where a considerable party were in arms for the same cause. The leader of the East Lothian troop was the Earl of Winton, a young nobleman twenty-five years old, said to be afflicted by a vicissitude of spirits approaching to lunacy. His life had been marked by some strange singularities, as that of his living a long time as bellows-blower and assistant to a blacksmith in France, without holding any communication with his country or family. But, if we judge from his conduct in the rebellion, Lord Winton appears to have displayed more sense and prudence than most of those engaged in that unfortunate affair.

This Lothian insurrection soon merged in the two principal southern risings, which took place in Dumfries-shire and Galloway in Scotland, and in Northumberland and Cumberland in England.



On the western frontier of Scotland, there were many families not only Jacobites in politics, but Roman Catholics in religion; and therefore bound by a double tie to the heir of James II., who, for the sake of that form of faith, may be justly thought to have forfeited his kingdoms. Among the rest, the Earl of Nithsdale, combining in his person the representation of two noble families, those of the Lord Herries and the Lord Maxwell, might be considered as the natural leader of the party. But William, Viscount Kenmure, in Galloway, a Protestant, was preferred as chief of the enterprise, as it was not thought prudent to bring Catholics too much forward in the affair, on account of the scandal to which their promotion might give rise. Many neighbouring gentlemen were willing to throw themselves and their fortunes into the same adventure in which Nithsdale and Kenmure stood committed. The latter was a man of good sense and resolution, well acquainted with civil affairs, but a total stranger to the military art.

In the beginning of October, the plan of insurrection was so far ripened, that the gentlemen of Galloway, Nithsdale, and Annandale, proposed by a sudden effort to possess themselves of the county town of Dumfries. The town was protected on the one side by the river Nith; on the others it might be considered as open.



But the zeal of the inhabitants, and of the Whig gentlemen of the neighbourhood, baffled the enterprise, which must otherwise have been attended with credit to the arms of the insurgents. The Lord Lieutenant and his deputies collected the fencible men of the country, and brought several large parties into Dumfries, to support, if necessary, the defence of the place. The provost, Robert Corbett, Esq., mustered the citizens, and putting himself at their head, harangued them in a style peculiarly calculated to inspire confidence. He reminded them that their laws and religion were at stake, and that their cause resembled that of the Israelites, when led by Joshua against the unbelieving inhabitants of the land of Canaan.

“Nevertheless,” said the considerate Provost of Dumfries; “as I, who am your unworthy leader, cannot pretend to any divine commission like that of the son of Nun, I do not take upon me to recommend the extermination of your enemies, as the judge of Israel was commanded to do by a special revelation. On the contrary, I earnestly entreat you to use your assured victory with clemency, and remember, that the misguided persons opposed to you are still your countrymen and brethren.” This oration, which, instead of fixing the minds of his followers on a doubtful contest, instructed them only how



to make use of a certain victory, had a great effect in encouraging the bands of the sagacious provost, who, with their auxiliaries from the country, drew out and took a position to cover the town of Dumfries.

Lord Kenmure marched from Moffat, with about a hundred and fifty horse, on Wednesday the 13th of October, with the purpose of occupying Dumfries. But finding the friends of government in such a state of preparation, he became speedily aware that he could not with a handful of cavalry propose to storm a town, the citizens of which were determined on resistance. The Jacobite gentlemen, therefore, retreated to Moffat, and thence to Langholm and Hawick. From thence they took their departure for the eastward, to join the Northumberland gentlemen who were in arms in the same cause, and towards whom we must now direct our attention.

In England, a very dangerous and extensive purpose of insurrection certainly existed shortly after the Queen's death; but the exertions of government had been so great in all quarters, that it was every where disconcerted or suppressed. The University of Oxford was supposed to be highly dissatisfied at the accession of the House of Hanover; and there, as well as at Bath, and elsewhere in the west, horses, arms,



and ammunition, were seized in considerable quantities, and most of the Tory gentlemen who were suspected of harbouring dangerous intentions, were either arrested, or delivered themselves up on the summons of government. Amongst these was Sir William Wyndham, one of the principal leaders of the High Church party.

In Northumberland and Cumberland, the Tories, at a greater distance from the power of the government, were easily inclined to action; they were, besides, greatly influenced by the news of the Earl of Mar's army, which though large enough to have done more than it ever attempted, was still much magnified by common fame. The unfortunate Earl of Derwentwater, who acted so prominent a part in this short-lived struggle, was by birth connected with the exiled royal family; his lady also was a bigot in their cause; and the Catholic religion, which he professed, made it almost a crime in this nobleman to remain peaceful on the present occasion. Thomas Forster of Bamborough, member of Parliament for the county of Northumberland, was equally attached to the Jacobite cause; being a Church-of-England man, he was adopted as the commander-in-chief of the insurrection, for the same reason that the Lord Kenmure was preferred to the Earl of Nithsdale in the command of the Scottish levies. Warrants being



issued against the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr Forster, they absconded, and lurked for a few days among their friends in Northumberland, till a general consultation could be held of the principal northern Tories, at the house of Mr Fenwick of Bywell; when, as they foresaw that, if they should be arrested, and separately examined, they could scarce frame such a defence as might save them from the charge of high-treason, they resolved to unite in a body, and try the chance that fortune might sent them. With this purpose they held a meeting at a place called Greenrig, where Forster arrived with about twenty horse. They went from this to the top of a hill, called the Waterfalls, where they were joined by Lord Derwentwater. This reinforcement made them near sixty horse, with which they proceeded to the small town of Rothbury, and from thence to Warkworth, where they proclaimed King James III. On the 10th of October they marched to Morpeth, where they received further reinforcements, which raised them to three hundred horse, the highest number which they ever attained. Some of these gentlemen remained undecided till the last fatal moment, and amongst these was John Hall of Otterburn. He attended a meeting of the quarter sessions, which was held at Alnwick, for the purpose of taking measures for quelling the



rebellion, but left it with such precipitation that he forgot his hat upon the bench, and joined the fatal meeting at the Waterfalls.

The insurgents could levy no foot-soldiers, though many men offered to join them; for they had neither arms to equip them, nor money to pay them. This want of infantry was the principal cause why they did not make an immediate attack on Newcastle, which had formed part of their original plan. But the town, though not regularly fortified, was surrounded with a high stone wall, with old-fashioned gates. The magistrates, who were zealous on the side of government, caused the gates to be walled up with masonry, and raised a body of seven hundred volunteers for the defence of the town, to which the keelmen, or bargemen employed in the coal-trade upon the Tyne, made offer of seven hundred more, and, in the course of a day or two, General Carpenter arrived with part of those forces with whom he afterwards attacked the insurgents. After this last reinforcement, the *gentlemen*, as Forster's cavalry were called, lost all hopes of surprising Newcastle. About the same time, however, a beam of success which attended their arms, might be said just to glimmer and disappear. This was the exploit of a gentleman named Lancelot Errington, who, by a dexterous stratagem, contrived to surprise the small castle, or



fort, upon Holy Island, which might have been useful to the insurgents in maintaining their foreign communication. But before Errington could receive the necessary supplies of men and provisions, the governor of Berwick detached a party of thirty soldiers, and about fifty volunteers, who, crossing the sands at low water, attacked the little fort, and carried it sword in hand. Errington was wounded and taken prisoner, but afterwards made his escape.

This disappointment, with the news that troops were advancing to succour Newcastle, decided Forster and his followers to unite themselves with the Viscount Kenmure and the Scottish gentlemen engaged in the same cause. The English express found Kenmure near Hawick, at a moment when his little band of about two hundred men had almost determined to give up the enterprise. Upon receiving Forster's communication, however, they resolved to join him at Rothbury.

On the 19th of October, the two bodies of insurgents met at Rothbury, and inspected each other's military state and equipments, with the anxiety of mingled hope and apprehension. The general character of the troops was the same, but the Scots seemed the best prepared for action, being mounted on strong hardy horses, fit for the charge, and, though but poorly disciplined, were well armed with the basket-hilted broad-



swords, then common throughout Scotland. The English gentlemen, on the other hand, were mounted on fleet blood horses, better adapted for the race-course and hunting-field than for action; there was among them a great want of war-saddles, curb bridles, and, above all, of swords and pistols; — so that the Scots were inclined to doubt whether men so well equipped for flight, and so imperfectly prepared for combat, might not, in case of an encounter, take the safer course, and leave them in the lurch. Their want of swords in particular, at least of cutting swords fit for the cavalry service, is proved by an anecdote. It is said that, as they entered the town of Wooler, their commanding-officer gave the word, "Gentlemen, you that have got swords, draw them;" to which a fellow among the crowd answered, not irrelevantly, "And what shall they do who have none?" — When Forster, by means of one of his captains named Douglas, had opened a direct communication with Mar's army, the messenger stated that the English were willing to have given horses worth 25l., then a considerable price, for such swords as are generally worn by Highlanders.

It may be also here noticed, that out of the four troops commanded by Forster, the two raised by Lord Derwentwater and Lord Widrington were like those of the Scots, composed of gentlemen,



and their relations and dependents. But the third and fourth troops differed considerably from the others in their composition. The one was commanded by John Hunter, who united the character of a contraband trader; the other by the same Douglas whom we have just mentioned, who was remarkable for his dexterity and success in searching for arms and horses, — a trade which he is said not to have limited to the time of the rebellion. Into the troops of these last-named officers, many persons of slender reputation were introduced, who had either lived by smuggling, or by the ancient Border practice of horse-lifting, as it was called. These light and suspicious characters, however, fought with determined courage at the barricades of Preston.

The motions of Kenmure and Forster were now decided by the news, that a detachment from Mar's army had been sent across the Frith of Forth to join them; and this requires us to return to the Northern insurrection, which was now endeavouring to extend and connect itself with that which had broke out on the Border. The Earl of Mar, it must be observed, had, from the first moment of his arrival at Perth, or at least as soon as he was joined by a disposable force, designed to send a party over the Frith into Lothian, who should encourage the



Jacobites in that country to rise; and he proposed to confer this command upon the Master of Sinclair. As, however, this separation of his forces must have considerably weakened his own army, and perhaps exposed him to an unwelcome visit from the Duke of Argyle, Mar postponed his purpose until he should be joined by reinforcements. These were now pouring fast into Perth.

From the North, the Marquis of Huntly, one of the most powerful of the confederacy, joined the army at Perth with foot and horse, Lowlanders and Highlanders, to the amount of nearly four thousand men. The Earl Marishal had the day before brought up his own power, consisting of about eighty horse. The arrival of these noblemen brought some seeds of dissension into the camp. Marishal, so unlike the wisdom of his riper years, with the indiscretion of a very young man, gave just offence to Huntly, by endeavouring to deprive him of a part of his following.

The occasion was this. The MacPhersons, a very stout, hardy clan, who are called in Gaelic, MacVourigh, and headed by Cluny MacPherson, held some possessions of the Gordon family, and therefore naturally placed themselves under the Marquis of Huntly's banner on the present occasion, although it might be truly



said that, in general, they were by no means the most tractable vassals. Marishal endeavoured to prevail on this Clan-Vourigh to place themselves under his command instead of that of Huntly, — alleging, that as the MacPhersons always piqued themselves on being a distinguished branch of the great confederacy called Clan-Chattan, so was he, by his name of Keith, the natural chief of the confederacy aforesaid. Mar is said to have yielded some countenance to the claim, — the singularity of which affords a curious picture of the matters with which these insurgents were occupied. The cause of Mar's taking part in such a debate was alleged to be, the desire which he had to lower the estimation of Huntly's power and numbers. The MacPhersons, however, considered the broad lands which they held of the Gordon as better reason for rendering him their allegiance, than the etymological arguments urged by the earl Marishal, and refused to desert the banner under which they had come to the field.

Another circumstance early disgusted Huntly with an enterprise in which he could not hope to gain any thing, and which placed in peril a princely estate, and a ducal title. Besides about three squadrons of gentlemen, chiefly of his own name, well mounted and well armed, he had brought into the field a squadron of some



fifty men strong, whom he termed Light Horse, though totally unfit for the service of *petite guerre* which that name implies. A satirist describes them as consisting of great lubberly fellows, in bonnets, without boots, and mounted on long-tailed little ponies, with snaffle bridles, — the riders being much the bigger animals of the two; and instead of pistols, these horsemen were armed with great rusty muskets, tied on their backs with ropes. These uncouth cavaliers excited a degree of mirth and ridicule among the more civilized Southern gentry; — which is not surprising, any more than that both the men, and Huntly, their commander, felt and resented such uncivil treatment — a feeling which was gradually increased into a disinclination to the cause in which they had received the indignity.

Besides these Northern forces, Mar also expected many powerful succours from the north-west, which comprehended the tribes termed, during that insurrection, by way of excellence, The Clans. The chiefs of these families had readily agreed to hold the rendezvous which had been settled at the hunting-match of Braemar; but none of them, save Glengarry, were very hasty in recollecting their promise. Of this high chief a contemporary says, it would be hard to say whether he had more of the lion, the fox or the bear, in his disposition; for he was at least



as crafty and rough as he was courageous and gallant. At any rate, both his faults and virtues were consistent with his character, which attracted more admiration than that of any other engaged in Mar's insurrection. He levied his men, and marched to the braes of Glenorchy, where, after remaining eight days, he was joined by the Captain of Claranald, and Sir John MacLean, who came, the one with the MacDonalds of Moidart and Arisaig; the other with a regiment of his own name, from the Isle of Mull. A detachment of these clans commenced the war by an attempt to surprise the garrison at Inverlochy. They succeeded in taking some outworks, and made the defenders prisoners, but failed in their attack upon the place, the soldiers being on their guard.

Still, though hostilities were in a manner begun, these western levies were far from complete. Stewart of Appin, and Cameron of Lochiel, would neither of them move; and the Breadalbane men, whose assistance had been promised by the singular Earl of that name, were equally tardy. There was probably little inclination, on the part of those clans who were near neighbours to the Duke of Argyle, and some of them Campbells, to displease that powerful and much-respected nobleman. Another mighty limb of the conspiracy, lying also in the north-western



extremity of Scotland, was the Earl of Seaforth, chief of the MacKenzies, who could bring into the field from two to three thousand men of his own name, and that of MacRae, and other clans dependent upon him. But he also was prevented from taking the field and joining Mar, by the operations of the Earl of Sutherland, who, taking the chief command of some of the Northern clans who were disposed to favour government — as, the Monroes, under their chief, Monro of Foulis; the MacKays, under Lord Rae; the numerous and powerful clan of Grant, along with his own following — had assembled a little army, with which he made a demonstration towards the Bridge of Alness. Thus, at the head of a body of about twelve or fifteen hundred men, Sutherland was so stationed on the verge of Seaforth's country, that the latter chief could not collect his men, and move southward to join Mar, without leaving his estates exposed to ravage. Seaforth prepared to move, however, so soon as circumstances would admit, for while he faced the Earl of Sutherland with about eighteen hundred men, he sent Sir John MacKenzie of Coull to possess himself of Inverness, Brigadier MacIntosh, by whom it was occupied for James VIII, having moved southward to Perth.

Thus, from one circumstance or another, the



raising of the western clans was greatly delayed; and Mar, whose plan it was not to attempt any thing till he should have collected the whole force together which he could possibly expect, was, or thought himself, obliged to remain at Perth, long after he had assembled an army sufficient to attack the Duke of Argyle, and force his way into the southern part of Scotland, where the news of his success, and the Duke's defeat or retreat, together with the hope of plunder, would have decided those tardy western chieftains, who were yet hesitating whether they should join him or not. Mar, however, tried to influence them by arguments of a different nature, such as he had the power of offering; and dispatched General Gordon to expedite these levies, with particular instructions to seize on the Duke of Argyle's castle at Inverary, and the arms understood to be deposited there. There was afterwards supposed to be some personal spleen, in the Earl's thus beginning direct hostilities against his great opponent; but it must be said, to the honour of the rebel General, that he resolved not to set the example of beginning with fire and sword; and therefore directed, that though General Gordon might threaten to burn the castle at Inverary, he was on no account to proceed to such extremity without farther orders. His object probably was, be-



sides a desire to possess the arms said to be in the place, to effect a complete breach between the Duke of Argyle and the clans in his vicinity, which must have necessarily been attended with great diminution of the Duke's influence. We shall see presently how far this line of policy appears to have succeeded.

During the currency of these events, Mar received information of the partial rising which had taken place in Northumberland, and the disposition to similar movements which showed itself in various parts of Scotland. It might have been thought, that these tidings would have induced him at length to burst from the sort of confinement, in which the small body commanded by Argyle retained so superior an army. If Mar judged that the troops under his command, assembled at Perth, were too few to attack a force which they more than doubled, there remained a plan of manœuvring by which he might encounter Argyle at a yet greater advantage. He might have commanded General Gordon, when he had collected the western clans, who could not amount to fewer than four thousand men, instead of amusing himself at Inverary, to direct their course to the Fords of Frew, by which the river Forth may be crossed above Stirling, and near to its source. Such a movement would have menaced the Duke from the



westward, while Mar himself might have advanced against him from the north, and endeavoured to possess himself of Stirling bridge, which was not very strongly guarded. The insurgent cavalry of Lord Kenmure could also have co-operated in such a plan of operations, by advancing from Dumfries towards Glasgow, and threatening the west of Scotland. It is plain that the Duke of Argyle saw the danger of being thus cut off from the western counties, where government had many zealous adherents; for he ordered up five hundred men from Glasgow to join his camp at Stirling; and on the 24th of September, commanded all the regiments of fencibles and volunteers in the west of Scotland to repair to Glasgow, as the most advantageous central point from which to protect the country, and cover his own encampment; and established garrisons at the village of Drymen, and also in several gentlemen's houses adjacent to the Fords of Frew, to prevent or retard any descent of the Highlanders into the Low Country by that pass. But the warlike habits of the Highlanders were greatly superior to those of the raw Lowland levies, whom they would probably have treated with little ceremony.

Nevertheless, the Earl of Mar, far from adopting a plan so decisive, resolved to afford sup-



port to Kenmure and Forster, by his original plan of marching a detachment to their assistance, instead of moving his whole force towards the Lowlands. This, he conceived might be sufficient to give them the aid and protection of a strong body of infantry, and enable them to strengthen and increase their numbers, whilst the measure allowed him to remain undisturbed at Perth, to await the final result of his intrigues in the Highlands, and those which he had commenced at the court of the Chevalier de St. George. There were many and obvious dangers in making the proposed movement. A great inlet of the sea was to be crossed; and if the passage was to be attempted about Dunfermline or Inverkeithing, where the Forth was less broad, it was to be feared that the bustle of collecting boats, and the march of the troops which were to form the detachment, might give warning to the Duke of Argyle of what was intended, who was likely to send a body of his dragoons to surprise and cut the detachment off, on their arrival at the southern side of the Forth. On the other hand, to attempt the passage over the lower part of the Frith, where vessels were more numerous, and could be assembled with less observation, was to expose the detachment to the uncertainties of a passage of fifteen or eighteen miles across, which was guarded by men-of-war,



with their boats and launches, to which the officers of the customs at every sea-port had the most strict orders to transmit intelligence of whatever movement might be attempted by the rebels. Upon a choice of difficulties, however, the crossing of the Frith from Pittenweem, Crail, and other towns situated to the eastward on the Fife coast, was determined on.

The troops destined for the adventure, were Mar's own regiment, as it was called, consisting of the Farquharsons, and others from the banks of the Dee — that of the MacIntoshes — those of Lords Strathmore, Nairne, and Lord Charles Murray, all Highlanders, excepting Lord Strathmore's Lowland regiment. They made up in all about two thousand five hundred men; for in the rebel army the regiments were weak in numbers, Mar having gratified the chiefs, by giving each the commission of colonel, and allowing him the satisfaction to form a battalion out of his own followers, however few in number.

The intended expedition was arranged with some address. Considerable parties of horse traversed Fifeshire in various directions, proclaiming James VIII, and levying the cess of the country, though in very different proportions on those whom they accounted friends or enemies to their cause, their demands upon the latter being both larger, and more rigorously



enforced. These movements were contrived to distract the attention of the Whigs, and that of the Duke of Argyle, by various rumours, tending to conceal Mar's real purpose of sending a detachment across the Frith. For the same purpose, when their intention could be no longer concealed, the English men-of-war were deceived concerning the place where the attempt was to be made. Mar threw troops into the castle of Burntisland, and seemed busy in collecting vessels in that little port. The armed ships were induced by these appearances to slip their cables, and, standing over to Burntisland, commenced a cannonade, which was returned by the rebels from a battery which they had constructed on the outer port of the harbour, with little damage on either side.

By these feints Mar was enabled to get the troops, designed to form the expedition, moved in secrecy down to Pittenweem, the Ely, Crail, and other small ports so numerous on that coast. They were placed under the command of MacIntosh of Borlum, already mentioned, commonly called Brigadier MacIntosh, a Highland gentleman, who was trained to regular war in the French service. He was a bold, rough soldier, but is stated to have degraded the character by a love of plunder which would have better be-



come a lower rank in the army. But this may have been a false or exaggerated charge.

The English vessels of war received notice of the design, or observed the embarkation from their topmasts, but too late to offer effectual interruption. They weighed anchor, however, at flood-tide, and sailed to intercept the flotilla of the insurgents. Nevertheless, they only captured a single boat, with about forty Highlanders. Some of the vessels were, however, forced back to the Fife coast, from which they came; and the boats which bore Lord Strathmore's Lowland regiment, and others filled with Highlanders, were forced into the island of May, in the mouth of the Forth, where they were blockaded by the men-of-war. The gallant young Earl intrenched himself on the island, and harangued his followers on the fidelity which they owed to the cause; and undertook to make his own faith evident, by exposing his person wherever the peril should prove greatest, and accounting it an honour to die in the service of the Prince for whom he had taken arms. Blockaded in an almost desert island, this young nobleman had the additional difficulty of subduing quarrels and jealousies betwixt the Highlanders and his own followers from Angus. These dissensions ran so high, that the Lowlanders resolved to embrace an opportunity to escape from the is-



land with their small craft, and leave the Highlanders to their fate. The proposal was rejected by Strathmore with ineffable disdain, nor would he leave his very unpleasant situation, till the change of winds and waves afforded him a fair opportunity of leading all who had been sharers in his misfortune in safety back to the coast they sailed from.

Meantime, the greater part of the detachment designed for the descent upon Lothian, being about sixteen hundred men, succeeded in their desperate attempt, and had landed at North Berwick, Aberlady, Gulan, and other places on the southern shores of the Frith, from whence they marched upon Haddington, where they again formed a junction, and refreshed themselves for a night, till they should learn the fate of their friends who had not yet appeared. We have not the means of knowing whether MacIntosh had any precise orders for his conduct when he should find himself in Lothian. The dispatches of Mar would lead us to infer that he had instructions, which ought to have directed his march instantly to the Borders, to unite himself with Kenmure and Forster. But he must have had considerable latitude in his orders, since it was almost impossible to frame them in such a manner as to meet, with any degree of precision, the circumstances in which



he might be placed, and much must have, of course, been intrusted to his own discretion. The surprise, however, was great, even in the Brigadier's own little army, when, instead of marching southward, as they had expected, they were ordered to face about and advance rapidly on the capital.

This movement Mar afterwards termed a mistake on the Brigadier's part. But it was probably occasioned by the information which MacIntosh received from friends in Edinburgh, that the capital might be occupied by a rapid march, before it could be relieved by the Duke of Argyle, who was lying thirty miles off. The success of such a surprise must necessarily have given great eclat to the arms of the insurgents, with the more solid advantages of obtaining large supplies both of arms and money, and of intercepting the communication between the Duke of Argyle and the south. It is also probable, that MacIntosh might have some expectation of an insurrection taking place in Edinburgh, on the news of his approach. But, whatever were his hopes and motives he marched with his small force on the metropolis, 14th October, 1715, and the movement excited the most universal alarm.

The Lord Provost, a gentleman named Campbell, was a man of sense and activity. The in-



stant that he heard of the Highlanders having arrived at Haddington, he sent information to the Duke of Argyle, and, arming the city guard, trained bands, and volunteers, took such precautions as he could to defend the city, which, though surrounded by a high wall, was far from being tenable even against a coup-de-main. The Duke of Argyle, foreseeing all the advantages which the insurgents would gain even from the temporary possession of the capital, resolved on this, as on other occasions, to make activity supply the want of numbers. He mounted two hundred infantry soldiers on country horses, and uniting them with three hundred chosen dragoons, placed himself at their head, and made a forced march from Stirling to relieve Edinburgh. This he accomplished with such rapidity, that he entered the West Port of Edinburgh about ten o'clock at night, just about the same moment that MacIntosh had reached the place where Piershill barracks are now situated, within a mile of the eastern gate of the city. Thus the metropolis, which seemed to be a prey for the first occupant, was saved by the promptitude of the Duke of Argyle. His arrival spread universal joy among the friends of government, who, from something resembling despair, passed to the opposite extremity of hope and triumph. The town had been reinforced during the day



by various parties of horse militia from Berwickshire and Mid-Lothian, and many volunteers, whom the news of the Duke of Argyle's arrival greatly augmented, not so much on account of the number which attended him, as of the general confidence reposed in his talents and character.

The advancing enemy also felt the charm communicated by the Duke's arrival; but to them it conveyed apprehension and dismay, and changed their leader's hopes of success into a desire to provide for the safety of his small detachment, respecting which he was probably the more anxious that the number of the Duke's forces were in all likelihood exaggerated, and besides consisted chiefly of cavalry, respecting whom the Highlanders entertained at that time a superstitious terror. Moved by such considerations, and turning off the road to Edinburgh, at the place called Jock's Lodge, Brigadier MacIntosh directed his march upon Leith, which he entered without opposition. In the prison of that place he found the forty men belonging to his own detachment who had been taken during the passage, and who were now set at liberty. The Highlanders next took possession of such money and provisions as they found in the Custom House. After these preliminaries, they marched across the drawbridge, and occu-



pied the remains of a citadel, built by Oliver Cromwell during the period of his usurpation. It was a square fort, with five demi-bastions and a ditch; the gates were indeed demolished, but the ramparts were tolerably entire, and the Brigadier lost no time in barricading all accessible places with beams, planks, carts, and barrels, filled with stones and other similar materials. The vessels in the harbour supplied them with cannon, which they planted on the ramparts, and prepared themselves as well as circumstances admitted for a desperate defence.

Early next morning the Duke of Argyle presented himself before the fortified post of the Highlanders, with his three hundred dragoons, two hundred infantry, and about six hundred new-levied men, militia and volunteers; among the latter class were seen several clergymen, who, in a war of this nature, did not consider their sacred character inconsistent with assuming arms. The Duke summoned the troops who occupied the citadel to surrender, under the penalty of high-treason, and declared, that if they placed him under the necessity of bringing up cannon, or killed any of his men in attempting a defence, he would give them no quarter. A Highland gentleman named Kinackin, answered resolutely from the ramparts, "That they laughed at his summons of surrender —



that they were ready to abide his assault; as for quarter, they would neither give nor receive it — and if he thought he could force their position, he was welcome to try the experiment.”

The Duke having received this defiance, carefully reconnoitred the citadel, and found the most important difficulties in the way of the proposed assault. The troops must have advanced two hundred yards before arriving at the defences, and during all that time would have been exposed to a fire from an enemy under cover. Many of those who must have been assailants were unacquainted with discipline, and had never seen action; the Highlanders, though little accustomed to exchange the fire of musketry in the open field, were excellent marksmen from behind walls, and their swords and daggers were likely to be formidable in the defence of a breach or a barricade, where the attack must be in some degree tumultuary. To this was to be added the Duke's total want of cannon and mortars, or artillery-men by whom they could be managed. All these reasons induced Argyle to postpone an attack, of which the result was so uncertain, until he should be better provided. The volunteers were very anxious for an attack; but we are merely told, by the reverend historian of the rebellion, that when they were given to understand that the post of honour, viz. the



right of leading the attack, was their just right as volunteers, it made them heartily approve of the Duke's measure in deferring the enterprise. Argyle therefore retreated to Edinburgh, to make better preparations for an attack with artillery next day.

But as MacIntosh's intention of seizing on the capital had failed, it did not suit his purpose to abide in the vicinity. He left the citadel of Leith a nine o'clock, and conducted his men in the most profound silence along the sands to Seaton House, about ten miles from Edinburgh, a strong castle belonging to the Earl of Winton, surrounded by a high wall. Here they made a show of fortifying themselves, and collecting provisions, as if they intended to abide for some time. The Duke of Argyle, with his wonted celerity, made preparations to attack MacIntosh in his new quarters. He sent to the camp at Stirling for artillery-men, and began to get ready some guns in Edinburgh Castle, with which he proposed to advance to Seaton, and dislodge its new occupants. But his purpose was again interrupted by express upon express, dispatched from Stirling by General Whetham, who commanded in the Duke's absence, acquainting his superior with the unpleasing information that Mar, with his whole army, was advancing towards Stirling, trusting to have an opportunity



of destroying the few troops who were left there, and which did not exceed a thousand men.

Upon these tidings the Duke, leaving two hundred and fifty men of his small command under the order of General Wightman, to prosecute the plan of dislodging the Highlanders from their strong-hold of Seaton, returned in all haste, with the small remainder of his forces, to Stirling, where his presence was much called for. But before adverting to events which took place in that quarter, we shall conduct MacIntosh and his detachment some days' journey farther on their progress.

On Saturday, the 15th of October, the environs of Seaton House were reconnoitred by a body of dragoons and volunteers. But as the Highlanders boldly marched out to skirmish, the party from Edinburgh thought themselves too weak to hazard an action, and retired towards the city, as did the rebels to their garrison. On Monday, the 17th of October, the demonstration upon Seaton was renewed in a more serious manner, Lord Rothes, Lord Torphichen, and other officers, marching against the house with three hundred volunteers, and the troops which had been left by the Duke of Argyle, to dislodge MacIntosh. But neither in this third attempt was it found prudent to attack the pertinacious mountaineers, as indeed a repulse in the neigh-



bourhood of the capital must necessarily have been attended with consequences not to be rashly risked. The troops of the government, therefore, returned a third time to Edinburgh, without having further engaged with the enemy than by a few exchanges of shot.

MacIntosh did not consider it prudent to give his opponent an opportunity of attacking him again in his present position. He had sent a letter to General Forster, which, reaching the gentlemen engaged in that unadvised expedition, while they were deliberating whether they should not abandon it, determined them to remain in arms, and unite themselves with those Highlanders, who had crossed the Frith at such great risk, in order to join them. Forster and Kenmure, therefore, returned an answer to MacIntosh's communication, proposing to meet his forces at Kelso or Coldstream, as should be most convenient for him. — Such letters as the Brigadier had received from Mar, since passing the Forth, as well as the tenor of his former and original instructions, directed him to form a junction with the gentlemen engaged on the Borders; and he accepted accordingly of their invitation, and assigned Kelso as the place of meeting. His first march was to the village of Longformachus, which he reached on the evening of the 19th of October. It may be mentioned,



that, in the course of their march, they passed Hermandston, the seat of Dr Sinclair, which MacIntosh, with some of the old vindictive Highland spirit, was extremely desirous to have burned, in revenge of the death of young Hepburn of Keith. He was dissuaded from this extreme course, but the house was plundered by Lord Nairne's Highlanders, who were active agents in this species of punishment. Sir William Bennet of Grubet, who had occupied Kelso for the government, with some few militia and volunteers, learning that fifteen hundred Highlanders were advancing against him from the eastward, while five or six hundred horse, to which number the united forces of Kenmure and Forster might amount, were marching downwards from the Cheviot mountains, relinquished his purpose of defending Kelso; and, abandoning the barricades, which he had made for that purpose, retired to Edinburgh with his followers, carrying with him the greater part of the arms which he had provided.

The cavalry of Forster and Kenmure, marching from Wooler, arrived at Kelso a few hours before the Highlanders, who set out on the same morning from Dunse. The Scottish part of the horse marched through Kelso without halting, to meet with MacIntosh at Ednambridge, a compliment which they conceived due to the ga-



lantry with which, through many hazards, the Brigadier and his Highlanders had advanced to their succour. The united forces, when mustered at Kelso, were found to amount to about six hundred horse and fourteen hundred foot, for MacIntosh had lost some men by desertion. They then entered the town in triumph, and possessed themselves of such arms as Sir William Bennet had left behind him. They proclaimed James VIII in the market-place of this beautiful town, and attended service (the officers at least) in the Old Abbey Church, where a non-juring clergyman preached a sermon on hereditary right, the text being, Deut. xxi, 17, *The right of the first-born is his*. The chiefs then held a general council on the best mode of following out the purposes of their insurrection. There were two lines of conduct to chuse betwixt, one of which was advocated by the Scottish gentlemen, the other by the insurgents from the north of England.

According to the first plan of operations, it was proposed that their united forces should move westward along the Border, occupying in their way the towns of Dumfries, Ayr, and Glasgow itself. They expected no resistance on either of these points, which their union with MacIntosh's troops might not enable them to overcome. Arrived in the west of Scotland,



they proposed to open the passes, which were defended chiefly by militia and volunteers, to the very considerable force of the Argyleshire clans, which were already assembled under General Gordon. With the Earl of Mar's far superior army in front, and with the force of Mac-Intosh, Kenmure, and Forster upon his left flank and in his rear, it was conceived impossible that, with all his abilities, the Duke of Argyle could persevere in maintaining his important post at Stirling; there was every chance of his being driven entirely out of the "ancient kingdom," as Scotland was fondly called.

This plan of the campaign had two recommendations. In the first place, it tended to a concentration of the rebel forces, which, separated as they were, and divided through the kingdom, had hitherto been either checked and neutralized like that of Mar by the Duke of Argyle, or fairly obliged to retreat and shift for safety from the forces of the government, as had been the fate of Forster and Kenmure. Secondly, the basis on which the scheme rested was fixed and steady. Mar's army, on the one hand, and Gordon with the clans, on the other, were bodies of troops existing and in arms, nor was there any party in the field for the government, of strength adequate to prevent their forming the proposed junction.



Notwithstanding these advantages, the English insurgents expressed the strongest wish to follow an opposite course, and carry the war again into England, from which they had been so lately obliged to retreat. Their proposal had at first a bold and spirited appearance, and might, had it been acted upon with heart and unanimity, have had a considerable chance of success. The dragoons and horse which had assembled at Newcastle under General Carpenter, were only a thousand strong, and much fatigued with forced marches. Reinforced as the insurgents were with MacIntosh and his infantry, they might have succeeded by a sudden march in attacking Carpenter in his quarters, or fighting him in the field; at all events, their great superiority of numbers would have compelled the English general either to hazard an action at very great disadvantage, or to retreat. In either case, the Northumbrian gentlemen would have remained masters of their native province, and might have made themselves masters of Newcastle, and interrupted the coal trade; and, finally, the great possessions and influence of Lord Derwentwater and others would have enabled them to add to their force as many infantry as they might find means of arming, without which, the gentry who were in arms could only be considered as a soul without a body, or a hilt without a blade.



But Forster and his friends would not agree to a measure which had so much to recommend it, but lost time in empty debates, remaining at Kelso from the 22d to the 27th of October, until it became impossible to put the plan in execution. For they learned, that while they were deliberating, General Carpenter was acting; and his little army, being reinforced and refreshed, was now advanced to Wwooler, to seek them out and give them battle.

Forster and the English officers then insisted on another scheme, which should still make England the scene of the campaign. They proposed that, eluding the battle which General Carpenter seemed willing to offer, they should march westward along the middle and west Borders of Scotland, till they could turn southward into Lancashire, where they assured their Scottish confederates that their friends were ready to rise in numbers, to the amount of twenty thousand men at least, which would be sufficient to enable them to march to London in defiance of all opposition.

Upon this important occasion the insurgents gave a decided proof of that species of credulity which disposes men to receive, upon very slight evidence, such tidings as flatter their hopes and feelings, and which induced Addison to term the Jacobites of that period a race of men who



live in a dream, daily nourished by fiction and delusion, and whom he compares to the obstinate old knight in Rabelais, who every morning swallowed a chimera for breakfast.

The Scottish gentlemen, and Lord Winton in particular, were not convinced by the reasoning of their Southern friends, nor do they appear to have been participant of their sanguine hopes of a general rising in Lancashire; accordingly, they strongly opposed the movement in that direction. All, therefore, which the rebels, in their divided counsels, were able to decide upon with certainty, was to move westward along the Border, a course which might advance them equally on their road, whether they should finally determine to take the route to the west of Scotland or to Lancashire. We must refer to a future part of this history for the progress and ultimate fate of this ill-starred expedition.

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## CHAPTER IX.

*The Earl of Mar remains inactive at Perth — his Resolution to march upon Stirling — his Advance, Abandonment of the Plan, and Return to Perth — Surprisal of a Jacobite Detachment at Dunfermline — Argyle joined by Reinforcements — Mar also joined by Seaforth, General Gordon, with the Clans of the West, and Breadalbane — Both Armies, being now fully reinforced, have no further pretext for postponing Active Operations.*

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WE must now return to the Earl of Mar's army, which must be considered as the centre and focus of the insurrection. Since his occupation of Perth, Lord Mar had undertaken little which had the appearance of military enterprise. His possession even of Fifeshire and Kinross had been in some degree contested by the supporters of government. The Earl of Rothes, with a few dragoons and volunteers, had garrisoned his own house of Lesly, near Falkland, and was active in harassing those parties of horse which Mar sent into the country to proclaim



James VIII, and levy the cess and public taxes. Upon one of these occasions (28th September) he surprised Sir Thomas Bruce, while in the act of making the proclamation in the town of Kinross, and carried him off a prisoner. The Earl of Rothes retained possession of his garrison till Mar's army became very strong, when he was obliged to withdraw it. But Mar continued to experience occasional checks, even in the military promenades in which he employed the gentlemen who composed his cavalry. It is true, these generally arose from nothing worse than the loose discipline observed by troops of this condition, their carelessness in mounting guards, or in other similar duties, to which their rank and habits of life had not accustomed them.

The only important manœuvre attempted by the Earl of Mar, was the expedition across the Frith under Brigadier MacIntosh, of which the details are given in the last chapter. Its consequences were such as to force the General himself into measures of immediate activity, by which he had not hitherto seemed much disposed to distinguish himself, but which became now inevitable.

It happened that, on the second day after MacIntosh's departure from Fife, a general review of the troops in Perth was held in the vicinity of that town, and the Earl Marischal's brother,



James (afterwards the celebrated Field-Marshal Keith), galloped along the line, disseminating some of those favourable reports which were the growth of the day, and, as one succeeded as fast as another dropped, might be termed the fuel which supplied the fire of the insurrection, or rather, perhaps, the bellows which kept it in excitation. The apocryphal tidings of this day were, that Sir William Wyndham had surprised Bristol for King James III, and that Sir William Blacket had taken both Berwick and Newcastle — intelligence received by the bearers with acclamations, which, if it had been true, were no less than it deserved.

But from these visions the principal persons in the insurrection were soon recalled to sad realities. A meeting of the noblemen, chiefs of clans, and commanders of corps was summoned, and particular care taken to exclude all intruders of inferior rank. To this species of council of war Mar announced, with a dejected countenance, that Brigadier MacIntosh, having, contrary to his orders, thrown himself into the citadel of Leith, was invested there by the Duke of Argyle. He laid before them the letter he had received from the Brigadier, which stated that a few hours would determine his fate, but that he was determined to do his duty to the last. The writer expressed his apprehension that cannons and



mortars were about to be brought against him. The earl of Mar said that he gave the detachment up for lost, but suggested it might be possible to operate a diversion in its favour, by making a feint towards Stirling. The proposal was seconded by General Hamilton, who said that such a movement might possibly do good, and could produce no harm.

The movement being determined upon, Mar marched with a large body of foot to Auchterarder, and pushed two squadrons of horse as far forward as Dunblane, which had the appearance of a meditated attack upon Stirling. It is said to have been the opinion of General Hamilton, that the foot should have taken possession of a defile which continues the road from the northern end of Stirling bridge through some low and marshy ground, and is called the Long Causeway. The rebels being in possession of this long and narrow pass, it would have been as difficult for the Duke of Argyle to have got at them as it was for them to reach him. And the necessity of guarding the bridge itself with the small force he possessed, must have added to Argyle's difficulties, and afforded General Gordon, and the western clans who were by this time expected to be at Dunbarton, full opportunity to have advanced on Stirling by Drymen and the Loch of Monteith, keeping possession,



during their whole march, of high and hilly grounds fit for the operations of Highlanders. In this manner the Duke of Argyle would have been placed between two fires, and must have run the greatest risk of being cut off from the reinforcements which he anxiously expected from Ireland, as well as from the west of Scotland.

Against this very simple and effective plan of the campaign, Mar had nothing to object but the want of provisions; in itself a disgrace to a General who had been quartered so long in the neighbourhood of the Carse of Gowrie, and at the end of autumn, when the farm-yards are full, without having secured a quantity of meal adequate to the maintenance of his army for a few days. General Hamilton combated this objection, and even demonstrated that provisions were to be had; and Mar apparently acquiesced in his reasoning. But having come with the infantry of his army as far as Ardoch, the Earl stopped short, and refused to permit the movement on the Long Causeway to be made, alleging that Marischal and Linlithgow had decided against the design. It seems probable, that, as the affair drew to a crisis, Mar, the more that military science was wanted, felt his own ignorance the more deeply, and, afraid to attempt any course by which he might have controlled circumstances, adopted every mode of postponing



a decision, in the hope they might, of themselves, become favourable in the long run.

In the meantime, the news of Mar's march to Auchterarder and Dunblane had, as we have elsewhere noticed, recalled the Duke of Argyle to his camp at Stirling, leaving a few of his cavalry, with the militia and volunteers, to deal with MacIntosh and his nimble Highlanders; who escaped out of their hands, first by their defence of Seaton, and then by their march to Kelso. Argyle instantly took additional defensive measures against Mar, by barricading the bridge of Stirling, and breaking down that which crosses the Teith at the village of Doune. But his presence so near his antagonist was sufficient to induce the Earl of Mar to retreat with his whole force to his former quarters at Perth, and wait the progress of events.

These were now approaching to a crisis. With MacIntosh's detachment Mar had now no concern; they were to pursue their good or evil destiny apart. The Earl of Mar had also received a disagreeable hint, that the excursions by which he used to supply himself with funds as well as to keep up the terror of his arms, were not without inconvenience. A detachment of about fourscore horse and three hundred Highland foot, chiefly followers of the Marquis of Huntly, was sent to Dunfermline to raise the cess. The direct road



from Perth to Dunfermline is considerably shorter, but the troops had orders to take the route by Castle-Campbell, which prolonged the journey considerably, for no apparent purpose save to insult the Duke of Argyle's garrison there, by marching in their view. When the detachment arrived at Dunfermline, Gordon of Glenbucket, who commanded the Highlanders, conducted them into the old Abbey, which is strongly situated, and there placed a sentinel. He took up his own quarters in the town, and placed a sentinel there also. The commander of the horse, Major Graham, took the ineffectual precaution of doing the same at the bridge, but used no farther means to avoid surprise. The gentlemen of the squadron sought each his personal accommodation, with their usual neglect of discipline, neither knowing with accuracy where they were to find their horses, nor fixing on any alarm-post where they were to rendezvous. Their officers sat down to a bottle of wine. During all this scene of confusion, the Honourable Colonel (afterwards Lord) Cathcart, was lying without the town, with a strong party of cavalry, and obtaining regular information from his spies within it.

About five in the morning of the 24th of October, he entered the town with two parties of his dragoons, one mounted and the other on



foot. The surprisal was complete, and the Jacobite cavaliers suffered in proportion; several were killed and wounded, and about twenty made prisoners, whose loss was the more felt, as they were all gentlemen, and some of them considerable proprietors. The assailants lost no time in their enterprise, and retreated as speedily as they entered. The neighbourhood of the Highland infantry in the Abbey was a strong reason for dispatch. This slight affair seemed considerable in a war which had been as yet so little marked by military incident. The appearance of the prisoners at Stirling, and the list of their names, gave eclat to the Duke of Argyll's tactics, and threw disparagement on those of Mar. On the other side, stories were circulated at Perth of the loss which Cathcart had sustained in the action, with rumours of men buried in the night, and horses returned to Stirling without their riders. This account, however fabulous, was received with credit even by those who were engaged at Dunfermline; for the confusion having been general, no one knew what was the fate of his comrade. But, in very deed, the whole return of casualties on Colonel Cathcart's side amounted to a dragoon hurt in the cheek, and a horse wounded. This little affair was made the subject of songs and pasquils in the army at Perth, which increased the Marquis of Huntly's disgust at the enterprise.



By this time three regiments of infantry, and Evans's dragoons, had joined the Duke of Argyll, who now felt himself strong enough to make detachments, without the fear of weakening his own position. A battalion of foot was sent to Kilsythe, along with a detachment of dragoons, who were to watch the motions of the troops of Forster and Kenmure, in case the whole, or any part of them, should resolve to penetrate into the west of Scotland.

The Earl of Mar was also on the point of being joined by the last reinforcements which he could expect, the non-arrival of which had hitherto been the cause, or at least the apology, for his inactivity. The various causes of delay had been at length removed in the following manner. Seaforth, it must be remembered, was confronted by Lord Sutherland with his own following, and the Whig clans of Grant, Monro, Ross, and others. But about the same time the Earl of Seaforth was joined by Sir Donald MacDonald of Skye, with seven hundred of his own clan, and as many MacKinnons, Chisholms, and others, as raised the total number to about four thousand men. The Earl of Sutherland, finding this force so much stronger than what he was able to bring against it, retreated to the Bonar, a strait of the sea dividing Ross-shire from Sutherland, and there passed to his own



side of the ferry. Seaforth, now unopposed, advanced to Inverness, and after leaving a garrison there, marched to Perth, to join the Earl of Mar, to whose insurrectionary army his troops made a formidable addition.

The clans of the West were the only reinforcements which Mar had now to expect; but these were not only considerable from their numbers, but claimed a peculiar fame in arms even over the other Highlanders, both from their zeal for the Jacobite cause, and their distinguished bravery. But Mar had clogged General Gordon, who was to bring up this part of his forces, with a commission which would detain him some time in Argyleshire. His instructions directed him especially to take and garrison the Castle of Inverary, the principal seat of the Duke of Argyle. The clans, particularly those of Stewart of Appin and Cameron of Lochiel, though opposed to the Duke in political principles, respected his talents, and had a high regard for his person as an individual, and therefore felt reluctance at entering upon a personal quarrel with him by attacking his castle. These chiefs hung back accordingly, and delayed joining. When Glengarry and Clanronald had raised their clans, they had fewer scruples. During this time, Campbell of Finnab was intrusted with the difficult task of keeping the



assailants in play until the Duke of Argyle should receive his expected reinforcements from Ireland. He was soon joined by the Earl of Islay, the Duke's younger brother. By the assistance of Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, about a thousand men were assembled to defend Inverary, when four or five thousand appeared in arms before it. A sort of treaty was entered into, by which the insurgent clans agreed to withdraw from the country of Argyle; with which purpose, descending Strathfillan, they marched towards Castle-Drummond, which is in the vicinity of Perth, and within an easy march of Mar's head-quarters.

One important member of the insurrection must also be mentioned. This was the Earl of Breadalbane, the same unrelenting statesman who was the author of the Massacre of Glencoe. He had been employed by King William in 1689 to achieve, by dint of money, the settlement and pacification of the Highlands; and now, in his old age, he imagined his interest lay in contributing to disturb them. When cited to appear at Edinburgh as a suspected person, he procured a pathetic attestation under the hand of a physician and clergyman, in which the Earl was described as an infirm man, overwhelmed with all the evils that wait on old age. None of his infirmities, however,



prevented him from attending the Earl of Mar's summons, on the very day after the certificate is dated. Breadalbane is supposed to have received considerable sums of money from the Earl of Mar, who knew the only terms on which he could hope for his favour. But for a long time the wily Earl did nothing decisive, and it was believed that he entertained a purpose of going to Stirling, and reconciling himself with the Duke of Argyle, the head of the elder branch of his house. This, however, Breadalbane did not do; but, on the contrary, appeared in the town of Perth, where the singular garb and peculiar manners of this extraordinary old chief, attracted general attention. He possessed powers of satirical observation in no common degree, and seemed to laugh internally at whatever he saw, which he considered as ridiculous, but without suffering his countenance to betray his sentiments, except to very close observers. Amidst the various difficulties of the insurgents, his only advice to them was, to procure a printing-press, and lose no time in issuing gazettes.

Mar took the hint, whether given in jest or earnest. He sent to Aberdeen for a printing-press, in order to lose no time in diffusing intelligence more widely by that comprehensive organ of information. It was placed under the



management of Robert Freebairn, one of the printers for the late Queen Anne, whose principles had led him to join the insurgent army. He was chiefly employed in extending by his art the delusion through means of which the insurrection had been originally excited, and was in a great measure kept afloat. It is a strong example of this, that while Mar actually knew nothing of the fate of Forster and Kenmure, with the auxiliary party of Highlanders under MacIntosh; yet it was boldly published that they were masters of Newcastle, and carried all before them, and that the Jacobites around London had taken arms in such numbers, that King George had found it necessary to retire from the metropolis.

It does not appear that the Earl of Breadalbane was so frank in affording the rebels his military support, which was very extensive and powerful, as in imparting his advice how to make an impression on the public mind by means of the press. His own age excused him from taking the field; and it is probable, his experience and sagacious observation discovered little in their counsels which promised a favourable result to their enterprise, though supported certainly by a very considerable force in arms. A body of his clan, about four or five hundred strong, commanded by the Earl's



kinsman, Campbell of Glendarule, joined the force under General Gordon; but about four hundred, who had apparently engaged in the enterprise against Inverary, and were embodied for that purpose, dispersed and returned to their own homes afterwards without joining Mar.

The whole force being now collected on both sides, it seemed inevitable, that the clouds of civil war which had been so long lowering on the horizon, should now burst in storm and tempest, on the devoted realm of Scotland.

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## CHAPTER X.

*Motives of the Earl of Mar for undertaking the Insurrection — Causes which devolved the Command of the Army upon him — Interception of Supplies of Arms and Ammunition destined for the Jacobite Army — Addresses to the Chevalier de St. George and the Duke of Orleans sent from the Army at Perth — Dissatisfaction among some of the Principal Men in Mar's Army — Plans of Mar — March of Mar from Perth and of Argyle from Stirling — the Armies come in sight of each other near Dunblane — Mar's Council of War — Battle of Sheriffmuir.*

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I HAVE delayed till this point in the Scottish history some attempt to investigate the causes and conduct of the Rebellion, and to explain, if possible, the supineness of the Insurgent General and Chiefs, who, having engaged in an attempt so desperate, and raised forces so considerable, should yet, after the lapse of two months, have advanced little farther in their enterprise than they had done in the first week after its commencement.



If we review the Earl of Mar's conduct from beginning to end, we are led to the conclusion, that the insurrection of 1715 was as hastily as rashly undertaken. It does not appear that Mar was in communication on the subject with the court of the Chevalier de St George previous to Queen Anne's death. That event found him at liberty to recommend himself to the favour of King George, and show his influence with the Highland chiefs by procuring an address of adhesion from them, of a tenor as loyal as his own. These offers of service being rejected, as we have already said, in a harsh and an affronting manner, made the fallen minister conclude that his ruin was determined on; and his private resentment, which, in other circumstances, would have fallen to the ground ineffectual and harmless; lighted unhappily amongst those combustibles, which the general adherence to the exiled family had prepared in Scotland.

When Mar arrived in Fifehire from London, it was reported that he was possessed of £. 100,000 in money, — instructions from the Pretender, under his own hand, and a commission appointing him Lieutenant-General, and Commander-in-Chief of his Forces in Scotland. But though these rumours were scattered in the public ear, better accounts allege, that in the commencement of the undertaking, Mar



did not pretend to assume any authority over the other noblemen of his own rank, or produce any other token from the Chevalier de St George, than his portrait. A good deal of pains were taken to parade a strong-box, said to enclose a considerable sum of money, belonging to the Earl of Mar; but it was not believed to contain treasure to the amount of more than *L.* 3000, if, indeed, it held so much. As to the important point of a General to command in chief, the scheme, when originally contemplated at the Court of St Germans, turned upon the Duke of Ormond's landing in England, and the Duke of Berwick in Scotland, whose well-known talents were to direct the whole affair. After commencing his insurrection, there can be little doubt that Mar did the utmost, by his agents in Lorraine, to engage the favourable opinion of the Chevalier; and the unexpected success of his enterprise, so far as it had gone, and the great power he had been able to assemble, were well calculated to recommend him to confidence. In the meantime, it was necessary there should be a General to execute the duties of the office *ad interim*. Mar offered, as I have told you, the command to the Duke of Athole, who refused to be connected with the affair. Huntly, from



his power and rank in possession and expectation, might have claimed the supreme authority, but his religion was an obstacle. Seaforth lay distant, and was late in coming up. The claims of these great nobles being set aside, there was nothing so natural as that Mar himself should assume the command of an insurrection, which would never have existed without his instigation. He was acceptable to the Highlanders, as having been the channel through which the bounty of the late Queen Anne had been transmitted to them; and had also partisans, from his liberality to certain of the Lowland nobles who had joined him, whose estates and revenues were not adequate to their rank, a circumstance which might be no small cause for their rushing into so ruinous an undertaking. Thus Mar assumed the general's truncheon which chance offered to his hand, because there was no other who could pretend to it.

Like most persons in his situation, he was not inclined to distrust his own capacity for using to advantage the power which he had almost fortuitously become possessed of; or, if he nourished any doubt upon this subject, he might consider his military charge to be but



temporary, since, from the whole tenor of his conduct, it appears he expected from France some person whose trade had been war, and to whom he might with honour resign his office. Such an expectation may account for the care with which the Jacobite commander abstained from offensive operations, and for his anxious desire to augment his army to the highest point, rather than to adventure it upon the most promising enterprise.

It is probable Mar was encouraged to persevere in his military authority, in which he must have met with some embarrassment, when he found himself confirmed in it by Ogilvie of Boyne, an especial messenger from the Chevalier de St George, who, greatly flattered by the favourable state of affairs in Scotland, conferred upon the Earl of Mar in form, that command which he had so long exercised in point of fact, and, it was said, brought a patent, raising him to the dignity of Duke of Mar. Of the last honour, little was known, but the commission of Mar as General was read at the head of every corps engaged in the insurrection.

It might be matter of wonder that the vessel which brought over Mr Ogilvie, the bearer of



this commission, had not been freighted with men, money, or provisions. The reason appears to have been, that the Chevalier de St George had previously expended all the funds he could himself command, or which he could borrow from foreign courts favourable to his title, in equipping a considerable number of vessels designed to sail from Havre-de-Grace and Dieppe, with large quantities of arms and ammunition. But the Earl of Stair, having speedily discovered the destination of these supplies, remonstrated with the Court of France upon proceedings so inconsistent with the treaty of Utrecht; and Sir George Byng, with a squadron of men-of-war, blockaded the ports of France, with the purpose of attacking the vessels if they should put to sea. The Regent Duke of Orleans immediately gave orders to the inspectors of naval affairs to prevent the arming and sailing of the vessels intended for the service of the Chevalier de St George. Thus the supplies designed for the insurgents were intercepted, and the whole expense which had been laid out upon the projected expedition was entirely lost. This affords a satisfactory reason why the exiled Prince could send little to his partisans in Scotland, unless in the shape of fair words and commissions.



In the meantime, the Earl of Mar, and the nobles and gentlemen embarked in his enterprise, although disappointed in the sanguine expectations under which it had been undertaken, and in finding that the death of Louis XIV, and the prudence of his successor in power, would deprive them of all hopes of foreign assistance, were yet desirous to receive that species of encouragement which might be derived from seeing the Chevalier de St George himself at the head of the army, which they had drawn together in his name and quarrel. An address, therefore, was made to King James VIII, as he was termed, praying him to repair to Scotland, and to encourage, by his personal presence, the flame of loyalty, which was represented as breaking out in every part of that kingdom, pledging the lives and honour of the subscribers for his personal security, and insisting on the favourable effect likely to be produced upon their undertaking, by his placing himself at its head. Another address was drawn up to the Regent Duke of Orleans, praying him, if he was not pleased to aid the heir of the House of Stewart at this crisis of his fate, that he would at least permit him to return to his own country, to share the fate of his trusty adherents who were in arms in his



behalf. This paper had rather an extraordinary turn, sounding as if the Chevalier de St George had been in prison, and the Regent of France the keeper of the key. The addresses, however, were subscribed by all the men of quality at Perth, though great was the resentment of these proud hidalgos, to find that the king's printer, Mr Robert Freebairn, was permitted to sign along with them. The papers were, after having been signed, intrusted to the care of the Honourable Major Hay, having as his secretary the historian Dr Abercromby, with charge to wait upon the Chevalier at the Court of Lorraine, or where he might happen to be, and urge the desire of the subscribers. The choice of the ambassador, and the secrecy which was observed on the subject of his commission, were regarded as deserving censure by those in the army who conceived that, the general welfare being concerned in the measures to be adopted, they had some right to be acquainted with the mode in which the negotiation was to proceed. Mar afterwards dispatched two additional envoys on the same errand; the first was Sir Alexander Erskine of Alva, who was wrecked on his return; the second, an agent of considerable acuteness, named Charles Forbes.

The Earl of Mar had not ascended to the



pitch of power which he now enjoyed, without experiencing the usual share of ill-will and unfavourable construction. The Master of Sinclair, a man of a temper equally shrewd and severe, had from the beginning shown himself dissatisfied with the management of the insurrection, and appears, like many men of the same disposition, to have been much more ready to remark and censure errors than to assist in retrieving them. The Earl of Huntly seems also to have been disobliged by Mar, and to have looked on him with dislike, or suspicion; nor were the Highlanders entirely disposed to trust him as their General. When Glengarry, one of their ablest chiefs, joined the army at Perth, he was anxious that the western clans should keep separate from those first assembled at Perth, and act in conjunction with the forces of the Earl of Huntly; and it was proposed to Sinclair to join in this sort of association, by which the army would in fact have been effectually separated into two parts. Glengarry, however, was dissuaded from this secession; and although it is intimated, that in order to induce him to abandon his design, the arguments arising from good cheer and good fellowship were freely resorted to, it is not the less true, that his returning to the duty of a soldier was an act of sober reason.



The Earl of Mar, amidst his other duties, having a wish to prepare a place of arms for the residence of the Chevalier de St George on his expected arrival, made an attempt to cover Perth by fortifications, so as to place it out of danger from a *coup-de-main*. General Hamilton attended to this duty for a short time; but afterwards it was almost entirely given up to the direction of a Frenchman, who had been a dancing and fencing-master, and whose lines of defence furnished much amusement to the English engineers, who afterwards became possessed of them.

Before resuming the narrative, I may tell you, that in this same eventful month of October, when there were so many military movements in Scotland, the Duke of Ormond was dispatched by the Chevalier de St George, with arms and ammunition, and directions to land on the coast of England. Three cannon were fired as a signal to the Jacobites, who were expected to flock in numbers to the shore, the name of Ormond being then most popular among them. But the signals not being answered, the vessel bore off, and returned to France. Had the Duke landed, the Jacobite party would have been in the singular predicament of having a General in England without an army,



and an army in Scotland without an effective General.

We now approach the catastrophe of these intestine commotions; for the Earl of Mar had by the beginning of November received all the reinforcements which he had to expect, though it may be doubted whether he had rendered his task of forcing or turning the Duke of Argyle's position more easy, or his own army much stronger, by the time he had spent in inactivity. His numbers were indeed augmented, but so were those of the Duke; so that the armies bore the same proportion to each other as before. This was a disadvantage to the Highlanders; — for where a contest is to take place betwixt undisciplined energy and the steadiness of regular troops, the latter must always attain superiority in proportion as their numbers in the field increase, and render the day likely to be decided by manoeuvres. Besides this, the army of Mar sustained a very great loss by desertion during the time he lay at Perth. The Highlanders, with the impatience and indolence of a half-civilized people, grew weary alike of remaining idle, and of being employed in the labour of fortification, or the dull details of ordinary parade exercise. Many also went home for the



purpose of placing in safety their accumulation of pay, and what booty they had been able to find in the Lowlands. Such desertions were deemed by the clans to be perfectly in rule, and even the authority of the chiefs was inadequate to prevent them.

Neither do the plans of the Earl of Mar seem to have been more distinctly settled, when he finally determined on the important step of making a movement in advance. It seems to have been given out, that he was to make three feigned attacks upon the Duke's army at one and the same time — namely, one upon the Long Causeway and Stirling Bridge; another at the Abbey Ford, a mile below Stirling; and a third at the Drip-coble, a ford a mile and a half above that town. By appearing on so many points at once, Mar might hope to occupy the Duke's attention so effectually, as to cross the river with his main body at the fords of Forth. But, as the Duke of Argyle did not give his opponent time to make these movements, it cannot be known whether Mar actually contemplated them.

It is, however, certain that the Earl of Mar entertained the general purpose of reaching, if possible, the fords of Forth, where that river



issues out of Loch Hard, and thus passing over to the southern side. To reach this part of the river, required a march of two days through a hilly and barren country. Nor were Mar and his advisers well acquainted with the road, and they had no other guide but the celebrated freebooter, Rob Roy Mac-Gregor, who they themselves said was not to be trusted, and who, in point of fact, was in constant communication with his patron, the Duke of Argyle, to whom he sent intelligence of Mar's motions. It was said, too, that this outlaw only knew the fords from having passed them with Highland cattle — a different thing, certainly, from being acquainted with them in a military point of view. It was probably, however, with a view to the information which Rob Roy could give on this point, that Mar, in a letter of the 4th of November, complains of that celebrated outlaw for not having come to Perth, where he wished much to have a meeting with him.

But if Mar and his military council had known the fords of Forth accurately, still it was doubtful in what situation they might find the passes when they arrived there. They might have been fortified and defended by the Duke of Argyle, or a detachment of his army; or they



might be impassable at this advanced season of the year, for they are at all times of a deep and impracticable character. Last of all, before they could reach the heads of the Forth, Mar and his army must have found the means of crossing the Teith, a river almost as large and deep as the Forth itself, on which Argyle had destroyed the bridge of Doune, which afforded the usual means of passage.

Such were the difficulties in the way of the insurgents; and they are of a kind which argues a great want of intelligence in a camp which must have contained many persons from Menteith and Lennox, well acquainted with the country through which the Highland army were to pass, and who might have reconnoitred it effectually, notwithstanding the small garrisons of west-country militia and volunteers, which the Duke had placed in Gartartan, and other houses of strength in the neighbourhood of Aberfoil. But it was not the will of Heaven that the insurgents should ever march far enough on their expedition to experience inconveniences from the difficulties we have pointed out; for the Duke of Argyle, though far inferior in force, adopted the soldier-like resolution of drawing out such strength as he had, and interrupting the march



of the insurgents by fighting them, before they should have an opportunity of descending upon the Forth. For this purpose, he called in all his garrisons and outposts, and having mustered a main body of not quite four thousand men, he marched from Stirling towards Dunblane, on the morning of Saturday, the 12th of November.

On the 10th of November, the Earl of Mar had broken up from his quarters at Perth, and advanced to Auchterarder, where the infantry were quartered, while the cavalry found accommodation in the vicinity.

But, during that night, the Highland army suffered in its nominal strength by two considerable desertions. The one was that of the whole clan of Fraser, amounting to four hundred men. They had joined Mar's army very recently, under Fraser of Fraserdale, who had married the heiress of their late chieftain: Just at this crisis, however, the heir-male of the family, the celebrated Fraser of Lovat, arrived in the north, and recalled by his mandate the clan of Fraser from the standards of King James VIII, to transfer them to those of George I. The Frasers, deeming their duty to their chief



paramount to that which they owed to either monarch, and recognising the right of the male-heir to command them in preference to that of the husband of the heir-female, unanimously obeyed the summons of the former, and left the camp, army, and cause in which they were engaged. There will be occasion to mention more of the Frasers hereafter.

The other desertion was that of two hundred of the Earl of Huntly's Highland followers, who complained of having been unjustly overburthened with what is called fatigue duty. Thus diminished, the army, after having been reviewed by their General, marched off their ground in the following order. The Master of Sinclair with the Fifeshire squadron, and two squadrons of Huntly's cavalry, formed the advance of the whole. The western clans followed, being, first, the MacDonalds, under their different chiefs of Clan Ranald, Glengarry, Sir Donald Mac Donald, Keppoch, and Glencoe. The next were Breadalbane's men, with five regiments, consisting of the following clans: — the Mac-Leans, under Sir John Mac-Lean, their chief; the Camerons, under Lochiel; the Stewarts, commanded by Appin; and those who remained of Huntly's followers from Strathdon



and Glenlivet, under Gordon of Glenbucket. This chosen body of Highlanders were in high spirits, and so confident of success, that they boasted that their division of Mar's army only would be more than enough to deal with the Duke of Argyle, and all the force he commanded. General Gordon was commander of the whole Highland vanguard.

The rest of the army, commanded by Mar in person, with the assistance of General Hamilton, followed the advanced division; and it was settled that the rear-guard should march only as far as Ardoch, while the vanguard should push forward as far as the town of Dunblane, where they had quartered on their former march from Perth, eight miles to the west of Ardoch, where the rear was to halt.

The horse, at the head of the first column, were advancing according to their orders, when a lame boy, running as fast as his infirmity would permit him, stated to the Master of Sinclair, who commanded the advance, that he was sent by the wife of the Laird of Kippendavie, whose husband was in the Jacobite army, to tell the Earl of Mar that the Duke of Argyle was in the act of marching through



Dunblane. The news, though the appearance of the messenger excited some doubt, was entitled to be treated with respect. A reconnoitring party was sent forward, an express was dispatched to Mar, who was six or seven miles in the rear, and General Gordon anxiously looked around him to find some strong ground on which to post the men. The river Allan lay in their front, and the Master of Sinclair proposed pushing across, and taking possession of some farm-houses, visible on the opposite side, where the gentlemen might find refreshment, and the horses forage. But General Gordon justly thought that the passing a river at nightfall was a bad preparation for a body of infantry, who were to lie out till morning in the open air, in a hard frost in the middle of November. At length the dispute was terminated, on two farm-houses being discovered on the left side of the river, where the horse obtained some accommodation, though in a situation in which they might have been destroyed by a sudden attack, before they could have got out of the enclosures, among which they were penned up like cattle, rather than quartered like soldiers. To guard against such a catastrophe, General Gordon posted advanced guards and videttes, and sent out patrols with



the usual military precautions. Soon after they had taken their quarters for the night, Lord Southesk and the Angusshire cavalry came up, with the intelligence that Mar and the whole main body were following, and the Earl accordingly appeared at the bivouac of the vanguard about nine o'clock at night.

Fresh intelligence came to them from Lady Kippendavie, who seems to have been as correct in her intelligence, and accurate in communicating with the insurgent army, as she was singular in her choice of messengers, this last being an old woman, who confirmed the tidings of the enemy's approach. The reconnoitring parties, sent forward by Sinclair, came in with news to the same purpose.

The whole of Mar's army being now collected together within a very narrow circumference, slept on their arms, and wrapped in their plaids; feeling less inconvenience from the weather, which was a severe frost, than would probably have been experienced by any other forces in Europe.

By day-break, on Sunday, 13th November, the insurgent army drew up in two lines of



battle, on the plain above the place where they had spent the night. They had not long assumed this posture, when they perceived a strong squadron of horse upon an eminence to the south of their lines. This was the Duke of Argyle, who, with some general officers, had taken this post in advance, for the purpose of reconnoitring the enemy's position and proceedings. In this he succeeded but imperfectly, on account of the swells and hollows which lay between him and Mar's army.

In the meantime, Mar, after satisfying himself that he was in presence of the enemy, called a council of his nobles, general officers, chiefs of clans, and commanders of corps. He is allowed on this occasion to have made them a most animating speech. It sunk, in part, upon unwilling ears, for there were already several persons of consequence, among whom Huntly and Sinclair seem to have been the leaders, who, despairing of the cause in which they were engaged, were desirous to open a communication with the Duke of Argyle, in order to learn whether he had power to receive their submission, and admit them to pardon on their former footing of living quietly under government. This, however, was only whispered



among themselves; for even those who entertained such opinions, were at the same time conscious that the crisis was come, in which they must fight for peace sword-in-hand, and that, by gaining a victory, they might dictate honourable terms; while, if they attempted a retreat, they would be no longer able to keep their Highland levies together, or to open a negotiation with the air of strength absolutely necessary to command a tolerable capitulation.

When, therefore, the Earl of Mar reminded his military auditors of the injustice done to the royal family, and the oppression of Scotland under the English yoke, and conjured them not to let slip the opportunity which they had so long languished for, but instantly attack the enemy, with that spirit which their cause and their wrongs were calculated to inspire, his words awakened a corresponding energy in the hearers. The Earl of Huntly only asked, whether a battle won would, in their present circumstances, place their rights, and those of their country, within their reach? or, whether there was any hope of foreign aid, to enable them to withstand the arms of England and her allies? "All this," he said, "my Lord of Mar could doubtless inform them of, since he



had lately received a letter from Lord Bolingbroke, which he desired might be laid before the council."

The critical circumstances of the moment, and the enthusiasm which had been excited in the assembly, enabled Mar to dispense with attending to questions which he might have found it difficult to answer. Gliding over the interruption given by Huntly, he stated to the council the question, in the words, "Fight, or not?" The chiefs, nobles, and officers, answered with a universal shout of "Fight;" and their resolution reaching the two lines, as they stood drawn up in order of battle, was welcomed with loud huzzas, tossing up of hats and bonnets, and a cheerfulness, which seemed, even to those who had been before uncertain and doubtful of the issue, a sure presage of speedy victory.

In this state of excited feeling, the army of Mar advanced towards the enemy. The two lines in which they stood upon the moor were broken up each into two columns, so that it was in four columns that they pursued the order of their march, descending the hill which they had first occupied, crossing a morass, which



the hard frost of the night before had rendered passable for cavalry as well as infantry, and ascending the opposite height, from which the Duke of Argyle was observing their movements. The Duke, on his part, as soon as he saw the extremity of Mar's wing wheel to the right, in order to make the movement we have described, immediately comprehended that their purpose was to avail themselves of their superiority of numbers, and attack his small force at once on the left flank, and in front. He rode hastily down the eminence, at the foot of which his force was drawn up, in order at once to get them into such a disposition as might disappoint the object of the enemy, and to lead his troops up the hill. He drew up his little army of about four thousand men, extending his disposition considerably to the right, placing three squadrons of horse on that wing, and as many on the left of his front line; the centre being composed of six battalions of foot. Each wing of horse was supported by a squadron of dragoons. The second line was composed of two battalions in the centre, with a squadron of dragoons on either wing. In this order, and having his right considerably advanced against the enemy's left, so as to admit of his withdrawing his own left wing from a flank attack,



the Duke ascended the hill, seeing nothing of the enemy, who had left the high grounds, and were advancing to meet him on the other side of the same height, which he was in the act of mounting. The Highlanders, as has been already stated, advanced in four columns, marching by their right.

Each column of infantry, four in number, was closed by a body of cavalry, which, when the column should deploy into line, were to take up their ground on the flank. The Highlanders marched, or rather ran, with such eagerness towards the enemy, that the horse were kept at the gallop in the rear. Both armies were thus ascending the hill in column, and met, as it were unexpectedly, upon the top, being in some points within pistol-shot before they were aware of each other's presence. Both, therefore, endeavoured at the same time to form line-of-battle, and some confusion occurred on either side. In particular, two squadrons of the insurgent cavalry were placed in the centre of the right wing, instead of being stationed on the flank, as had been intended, and as the rules of war required. This discovery, however, was of much less consequence to the Highlanders, whose terrors consisted in the headlong fury



of the onset, whilst the strength of the regulars depended on the steadiness of their discipline.

It was at this moment that an old chief, impatient for the command to charge, and seeing the English soldiers getting into order, became enraged at seeing the favourable minute pass away, and made the memorable exclamation, "Oh, for one hour of Dundee!"

The Duke's left wing was commanded by General Whitham, who does not appear to have been distinguished either for courage or conduct. The right of Mar's line was hastily formed, consisting of the western clans, MacDonalds, MacLeans, and the followers of Breadalbane, when old Captain Livingstone rode up, a veteran soldier, who had served in King James's army before the Revolution, and with several oaths called to General Gordon, who commanded the right wing, instantly to attack. The General hesitated, but the chiefs and clans caught the enthusiasm of the moment. A gentleman, named Mac-Lean, who lived to a great age, thus described the attack of his own tribe; and there can be no doubt that the general onset was made under similar circumstances. When his clan was drawn up in deep order, the best born,



bravest, and best armed of the warriors in front \*), Sir John MacLean placed himself at their head, and said, with a loud voice, „Gentlemen, this is a day we have long wished to see. Yonder stands MacCallanmore for King George — Here stands MacLean for King James. God bless MacLean and King James! — Charge, gentlemen!”

The clan then muttered a very brief prayer, fixed the bonnet firm on the head, stripped off their plaids, which then comprehended the plilabeg also \*\*), and rushed on the enemy,

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\*) The very existence of this regiment was an instance of the tenacity of clan attachment. The lands on which they lived in the Isle of Mull were become the property of the Duke of Argyle, and their Chief resided for the most part in France, on an allowance which Queen Anne had assigned him; yet he found no difficulty in raising seven or eight hundred men, in opposition to their actual landlord, so inferior was the feudal claim to the patriarchal.

\*\*) The Highlanders wore long shirts, which were disposed in a particular manner on such occasions.



firing their fusees irregularly, then dropping them, and drawing their swords, and uniting in one wild yell, when they mingled among the bayonets. The regular troops on the left received this fierce onset of the mountaineers with a heavy fire, which did considerable execution. Among others who dropped, was the gallant young chief of Clan-Ranald, mortally wounded. His fall checked for an instant the impetuosity of his followers, when Glengarry, so often mentioned, started from the ranks, waved his bonnet around his head, exclaiming, "Revenge, revenge! to-day for revenge, and to-morrow for mourning!" The Highlanders, resuming the fury of their attack, mingled with the regulars, forced their line in every direction, broke through them and dispersed them, making great slaughter among men less active than themselves, and loaded with an unwieldy musket, — which, in individual or irregular strife, has scarce ever been found a match for the broadsword. The extreme-left of Argyle's army was thus routed with considerable slaughter, for the Highlanders gave no quarter; but the troops of the centre, under General Wightman, remained unbroken; and it would seem to have been the business of the rebel cavalry to have charged them in the flank or rear, exposed as they must have been



by the flight of Whitham and the left wing. Of their cavalry, however, two squadrons, commanded by Drummond and Marischal, went off in pursuit of those whom the Highlanders had scattered; while Lord Huntly's, and that of Fife, under the Master of Sinclair, remained inactive on the field of battle, without engaging at all. It would seem that they were kept in check by the dragoons of Argyle's second line, who did not fly like the first, but made an orderly retreat in face of the enemy.

On the right wing and centre, the event of the battle was very different. The attack of the Highlanders was as furious as on their right. But their opponents, though a little staggered, stood their ground with admirable resolution, and the Duke of Argyle detached Colonel Cathcart, with a body of horse, to cross a morass, which the frost had rendered passable, and attack the Highlanders on the flank as they advanced to the charge. In this manner their rapid assault was checked and baffled; and although the Camerons, Stewarts, and other clans of high reputation, formed the left wing of Mar's army, yet that, and his whole second line, were put to flight by the masterly movement of the Duke of Argyle, and the steadiness of the troops he



commanded. But his situation was very perilous; for as the fugitives consisted of five thousand men, there was every prospect of their rallying and destroying the Duke's small body, consisting only of five squadrons of horse, supported by Wightman, with three battalions of infantry, who had lately composed the centre of the army. Argyle took the bold determination to press on the fugitives with his utmost vigour, and succeeded in driving them back to the river Allan, where they had quartered the night before. The fugitives made frequent halts, and were as often again attacked and broken. This was particularly remarked of the body of horse who carried James's standard, and was called the Restoration Squadron. The gentlemen composing it made repeated and vigorous attacks, in which they were only broken and borne down by the superior weight of the English cavalry. It was in one of these reiterated charges that the gallant young Earl of Strathmore lost his life, while in vain attempting to rally his Angusshire regiment. He was slain by a private dragoon, after having had quarter given to him. The Earl of Panmure was also wounded and made prisoner by the royalists, but was rescued by his brother, Mr Henry Maule.



The field of battle now presented a singular appearance, for the left of both armies were broken and flying, the right of both victorious and in pursuit. But the events of war are of less consequence than the use which is made of them. It does not appear that any attempt was made on the part of Mar to avail himself of his success on the right. General Whitham had indeed resigned the field of battle to his opponents, and from thence fled almost to Stirling bridge. The victorious Highlanders did not take the trouble to pursue them, but having marched across the scene of action, drew up on an eminence, called the Stony Hill of Kippendavie, where they stood in groups with their drawn swords in their hands. One cause of their inactivity at this critical moment may be attributed to having dropped their fire-arms, according to their fashion when about to charge; another, certainly, was the want of active aides-de-camp to transmit orders; and a third, the character of the Highlanders, who are not always disposed to obedience. This much is certain, that had their victorious right wing pursued in the Duke of Argyle's rear when he advanced towards the river Allan, they must have placed him in the greatest danger, since his utmost exertion was scarce equal to keep the multitude before



him in full retreat. It is also stated, that some of the Highlanders showed an unwillingness to fight. This is alleged to have been particularly the case with the celebrated Rob Roy, a dependent, it will be observed, of the Duke of Argyle's, and in the habit, during the whole insurrection, of furnishing him with intelligence from the enemy's camp. A strong party of MacGregors and MacPhersons were under the command of this outlaw, who, when ordered to charge, answered coolly, "If they cannot do it without me, they cannot do it with me." It is said, that a bold man of the Clan Vourigh, called Alister MacPherson, who followed Rob Roy's original profession of a drover, impatient at the inactivity in which they were detained, drew his sword, and called on the MacPhersons to follow. "Hold, Sandie," said Rob Roy; "were the question about a drove of sheep, you might know something; but as it concerns the leading of men, it is for me to decide." — "Were the question about a drove of Glen-Angus wethers," retorted the MacPherson, "the question with you, Rob, would not be who should be last, but who should be first." This had almost produced a battle betwixt the two champions; but, in the meantime, the opportunity of advancing was lost.



The Duke of Argyle having returned back from his pursuit of the enemy's left wing, came in contact with their right, which, victorious as we have intimated, was drawn up on the hill of Kippendavie. Mutual menaces of attack took place, but the combat was renewed on neither side. Both armies showed a disposition to retreat, and Mar, abandoning a part of his artillery, drew back to Auchterarder, and from thence retired to Perth. Both generals claimed the victory, but as Mar abandoned from that day all thoughts of a movement to the westward, his object must be considered as having been completely defeated; while Argyle attained the fruits of victory in retaining the position by which he defended the Lowlands, and barred against the insurgents every avenue by which they could enter them.

The numbers slain in the battle of Sheriffmuir were considerable. Seven or eight hundred were killed on the side of the rebels, and the royalists must have lost five or six hundred. Much noble and gentle blood was mixed with that of the vulgar. A troop of volunteers, about sixty in number, comprehending the Dukes of Douglas and Roxburghe, the Earls of Haddington, Lauderdale, Loudon, Belhaven,



and Rothes, fought bravely, though the policy of risking such a *troupe dorée* might be questionable. At all events, it marked a great change of times, when the Duke of Douglas, whose ancestors could have raised an army as numerous as those of both sides in the field of Sheriffmuir, fought as a private trooper, assisted only by two or three servants. This body of volunteers behaved in a manner becoming their rank. Many of them were wounded, and the Earl of Forfar was slain.

The loss of the Earl of Strathmore and of the young Clan Ranald was a severe blow to the Insurrection. The last was a complete soldier, trained in the French Guards, and full of zeal for the cause of James. "My family," he replied to Mar's summons to join him, "have been on such occasions ever wont to be the first on the field, and the last to leave it." When he fell out of the ranks, mortally wounded, Mar met him, and, ignorant of what had happened, demanded why he was not in the front. "I have had my share," said the dying chief, and fell dead before his commander. Many of his men retired from the army in consequence of his death.



Thus began and thus ended a confused af-  
fray, of which a contemporary ballad-maker  
truly says, "there is nothing certain, except  
that there was actually a battle, which he  
witnessed."



## CHAPTER XI.

*Mar's Retreat to Perth, leaving Argyle Master of the Field  
Dissensions among the Troops under Forster and Ken-  
mure — Forster returns to England, and is recognised  
as General of the Chevalier's Forces there — He  
marches, with the design of attacking Liverpool, to  
Preston, where his army blockaded by General Willis,  
and, after some opposition, surrenders at discretion —  
The Prisoners of Rank sent to London — Escape of  
Forster, MacIntosh, and Hepburn of Keith — Execution  
of Derwentwater and Kenmure — Escape of Nithsdale  
— the other Noblemen pardoned, after a long Impri-  
sonment.*

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THE confused battle of Sheriffmuir being ended by the approach of night, both parties had time to count what they had lost and won in the course of the day. That of the insurgents was easily summed up. The Highlanders, on their right, had behaved with their usual courage, and maintained the reputation which they had acquired of old times under Montrose, and more lately



when commanded by Dundee. But in every other particular, the events of the battle were unfavourable to the insurgents. A great many of their best men had retired without leave, as was their invariable practice, to see their families, or to secure their small stock of booty, which some of them had augmented by plundering the baggage of their own army. This desertion thinned the ranks even of those clans who had been victorious, and the Highlanders of the vanquished division of the army had much better reasons for following the example thus set. Their numbers that morning had been from eight to ten thousand men; and at the close of the day, about four thousand of them were missing. Some leaders, too, of high rank and quality, had graced the retreat by their example; and it was said of Huntly and Seaforth in particular, that they were the first fugitives of any rank or condition who reached Perth, and discouraged their numerous followers, by their retreat from the field of action. It was therefore in vain for the insurgents, under this state of diminution and discouragement, to abide a second battle, or endeavour to renew the attempt to pass the Forth, which they had not been able to accomplish with double their now reduced numbers.



But besides the effects of desertion, the insurgent army had other difficulties to contend with. The improvidence of their leaders had been so unpardonably great, that they had set out from one of the most fertile to a comparatively barren district of Scotland, with provisions for two or three days only, and their ammunition was proportionally scanty. It was therefore evident, that they were in no condition to renew the attempt in which they had that morning miscarried; nor had Mar any alternative, save that of leading back his army to their old quarters at Perth, to wait until some unexpected event should give them spirits for a fresh effort. Accordingly, as already mentioned, having passed the night after the action among the enclosures of Auchterarder, he returned towards Perth the next morning. The Duke of Argyle, on the other hand, having fallen back on Dunblane, with the troops he himself commanded, and, rejoined by such of the fugitives of the left wing as could be collected, he lay on his arms all night, expecting to renew the action on the succeeding day.

On approaching the field of battle on Monday, the 14th of November, at break of day, the Duke of Argyle found it abandoned by the enemy, who had left their dead and wounded at his



disposal, together with the honours of the field, amongst which the principal trophies were fourteen colours, or standards, and six pieces of field-cannon, which Mar had brought to the field in a useless bravado, since he had neither ammunition nor men to serve them, and which he had found himself unable to remove. Amongst the gentlemen who fell on this occasion, were several on both sides alike eminent for birth and character. The body of the gallant young Earl of Srathmore was found on the field, watched by a faithful old domestic, who, being asked the name of the person whose body he waited upon with so much care, made this striking reply, "He was a man yesterday."

The Earl of Mar had endeavoured to pave the way for a triumphant return to Perth, by a species of Gazette, in which he claimed the victory on the right and centre, and affirmed, that had the left wing and the second line behaved as his right and the rest of the first line did, the victory had been complete. But he could not again excite the enthusiasm of his followers, many of whom began now in earnest to despair of their situation, the large odds of numbers which they possessed in the field of Sheriffmuir having been unable to secure them a decided victory.



Many rumours were in the meantime spread among the insurgents, concerning successes which were reported to have been obtained by Forster and his troops over General Carpenter in England, and bonfires and rejoicings were made for these supposed victories, at a time when, in fact, Forster and Kenmure were totally defeated, their soldiers dispersed, and themselves prisoners.

You must not forget that the force of General Forster consisted of the troops of horse levied on the Northumberland frontier by the Earl of Derwentwater and others, joined with the gentlemen of Galloway and Dumfries-shire, under Lord Kenmure, and the Lothian Jacobites, under the Earl of Winton, composing altogether a body of five or six hundred horse; to whom must be added about fourteen hundred Highlanders, being those sent across the Frith by the Earl of Mar, under command of MacIntosh of Borlum. You must also recollect, that in this little army there were great differences of opinion as to the route which they were to pursue. The English gentlemen persisted in the delusion, that they had only to show themselves in the west of England, in order to draw the whole country to their standard, while the Scots, both the Lowland gentlemen and Highlanders, desired to march



upon Dumfries, and, after taking possession of that town, proceed to the west of Scotland, and force open a communication betwixt their force and the main army, under Mar, by which they reasonably hoped to dislodge Argyle from his post at Stirling.

Unfixed which course to pursue, and threatened by General Carpenter, who moved against them from Newcastle towards Kelso, at the head of a thousand horse, the insurgents left the latter town, where they had been joined by the Brigadier MacIntosh, and marched to Jedburgh, not without one or two false alarms. They had, however, the advantage of outstripping General Carpenter, and the English gentlemen became still more impatient to return into their own country, and raise the Jacobites of the west. The Highlanders, learning that such a plan was at last adopted, separated themselves from the horse as soon as the march began, and drawing upon a moor above the town of Hawick, declared, that if the insurgents proposed to march against the enemy, they would fight it out to the last, but that they would not go into England to be kidnapped and made slaves of, as their ancestors were in Cromwell's time. And when the horse drew up, as if for the purpose of attack, the



Highlanders cocked their pieces, and prepared for action, saying, that if they must needs be made a sacrifice, they would prefer their own country as the scene of their death. The discontented mountaineers would listen to no one save the Earl of Winton, who joined them in desiring to march westward to the assistance of the Earl of Mar; to whom, indeed, by preventing Argyle from concentrating his forces, they might have done excellent service, for the Duke could never have recalled a regiment of horse which he had at Kilsythe, had the southern insurgents threatened that post. The Highlanders were at length put in motion, under a declaration that they would abide with the army while they remained in Scotland, but should they enter England they would return back.

In the meantime, the citizens of the town of Dumfries saw themselves again threatened by the rebel forces, and assuming an attitude of resistance, marched out to occupy a position in front of the place, on which they threw up some hasty fortifications. At the same time they received intelligence from General Carpenter, who had now reached Jedburgh, that if they could but defend themselves for six hours, he would within that time attack the rear of the enemy.



The news, that the Dumfries citizens intended to defend their town, which lay in front, while Carpenter was prepared to operate in the rear of the rebels, induced Mr Forster and his friends to renew with great urgency their proposal of entering England, affirming to their northern associates that they were possessed of letters of advice, assuring them of a general insurrection. The Scots, worn out with the perseverance of their English associates, and unable to believe that men would have deceived themselves or others by illusory hopes, when engaged in such a momentous undertaking, at length yielded to their remonstrances. Accordingly, having reached Ecclefechan on their way to Dumfries, the English counsels prevailed, and the insurgents halted at the former village, turned south, and directed their march on Langholm, with the design of making for the west of England.

The Earl of Winton dissented so widely from the general resolution, that he left the army with a considerable part of his troop, and it seemed for a time as if he had renounced the undertaking entirely. Ashamed, however, to break off abruptly from a cause which he had embraced from motives of duty and conscience, he changed his purpose, and again joined the



main body. But though this unfortunate young nobleman returned to the fatal standard, it was remarked that from this time he ceased to take any interest in the debates or deliberations of his party, but seized with a kind of reckless levity upon such idle opportunities of amusement as chance threw in his way, in a manner scarce resembling one engaged in an important and perilous enterprise.

The Highlanders were again divided from their confederates in their opinion respecting the alteration of the line of march, and the object of their expedition. — Many agreed to march into England. Others, to the number of four hundred, broke away entirely from their companions, with the purpose of returning to their mountains through the western districts and by the heads of the Forth. They might have accomplished this but for the difficulty of finding provisions, which obliged them to separate into small parties, several of which were made prisoners by the peasantry, who in that country were chiefly Cameronians, and accustomed to the use of arms.

The rest of the army, diminished by this desertion, proceeded to Brampton, near Carlisle, where Mr Forster, producing his commission to



that effect, was recognised as General of King James's forces in England. It is possible, that the desire to obtain the supreme command of the army might have made this gentleman the more anxious for having the march directed on his native country; and his first exploit in his new capacity seemed to give a lustre to his undertaking, although the success was more owing to the fears of the opposite party, than to any particular display of courage on the part of the Jacobite General and his little army.

It must be observed, that the horse-militia of Westmoreland, and of the northern parts of Lancashire, had been drawn out to oppose the rebels; and now the *posse comitatus* of Cumberland, amounting to twelve thousand men, were assembled along with them at Penrith, by summons from Lord Lonsdale, sheriff of the county. But being a mere undisciplined mob, ill-armed, and worse arrayed, they did not wait for an attack either from the cavalry or the Highlanders, but dispersed in every direction, leaving to the victors the field of battle, covered with arms and a considerable number of horses. Lonsdale, deserted by every one save about twenty of his own servants, was obliged to make his escape, and found shelter in the old castle of Appleby.



In marching through Cumberland and Westmoreland, there was little seen of that enthusiasm in the Jacobite cause which the English officers had taught their associates to expect. Manchester was on this, as upon a later occasion, the first town where the inhabitants seemed disposed to embark in the insurrection, and form a company for that purpose. Intimation of their friendly disposition reached the insurgents at Lancaster, and encouraged them to advance. It was, indeed, time that their friends should join them, for they had daily news of troops marching to oppose and surround them. On their side they resolved to extend themselves, the more easily to gather fresh forces; and having moved from Lancaster to Preston, they resolved to possess themselves of Warrington bridge, with a view to securing Liverpool.

While they were scheming an attack on this celebrated sea-port which its citizens were preparing to defend with much vigour, the government forces, which had assembled around them, were advancing towards them on several quarters.

It seems strange, that while possessing a strong party of friends in the country, being a very large proportion of the landed gentry with a



considerable proportion of the populace, the insurgents should nevertheless have suffered themselves to be so completely surprised. But the spirit of the delusion which possessed the whole party, and pervaded all their proceedings, was as remarkable here as on other occasions. While Forster and his companions were thinking of extending the fire of insurrection to Manchester and Liverpool, General Willis, who commanded in Cheshire for King Georg, had taken measures for extinguishing it entirely. This active general issued orders to several regiments, chiefly of horse and dragoons quartered in the neighbouring counties, appointing them to rendezvous at Warrington bridge on the 10th of November, on which day he proposed to place himself at their head, and dispute with the rebels their approach to Manchester. At the same time, Willis entered into communication with General Carpenter, whose unwearied exertions had dogged the insurgents from Northumberland, and was now advancing upon them.

These tidings came like a thunderbolt on Forster's army. Forster had but a choice of difficulties, namely, either to march out and dispute with Major-General Willis the passage of the river Ribble, by which Preston is covered,



or abide within an open town, and defend it by such assistance from fortifications, barricades, and batteries, as could be erected within a few hours.

The first of these courses had its advantages. The bridge across the Ribble was long, narrow, and might have been easily defended, especially as there was a party of one hundred chosen Highlanders stationed there, under the command of John Farquharson of Invercauld, a chief of great character for courage and judgment; and who, though General Willis was approaching very near to the bridge, might have been relied on as secure of maintaining his ground till succours were dispatched from the town. Beyond the bridge there extended a long and deep lane, bordered with hedges, well situated for defence, especially against cavalry. All this was in favour of the defence of the bridge; but, on the other hand, if Forster had drawn his squadrons of gentlemen out of Preston, he must have exposed them to the rough shock of ordinary troopers, which they were neither mounted nor armed so as to sustain. It was probably this which determined the Jacobite leader to maintain his defence in the town of Preston itself, rather than in front of it. The insurgents took judicious



measures for this purpose, and pursued them with zeal and spirit. Four barricadoes were hastily erected. The Earl of Derwentwater, stripping to the waistcoat, encouraged the men to labour, as well by his own example as his liberality, and the works were speedily completed.

One of these barriers was situated a little below the church, and was supported by the gentlemen volunteers, who mustered in the churchyard. The defence was commanded by Brigadier MacIntosh. The second was formed at the end of a lane, which was defended by Lord Charles Murray; the third was called the windmill barricade — it was held out by the Laird of MacIntosh, chief of the name; the fourth barricade was drawn across the street leading towards Liverpool, and was stoutly manned by Hunter the Northumbrian freebooter, and his moss-troopers. Each barricade was protected by two pieces of cannon; and the houses on both sides of the street were occupied by defenders, so as to pour a destructive flanking fire on any assailant. General Willis, having accurately surveyed the defences, resolved upon attacking them.

On Saturday, the 12th of November, being the day previous to that on which the battle of



Sheriffmuir was fought, General Willis commenced his operations upon the town of Preston by a double attack. The barricade on the street below the church was assaulted with great fury; but so insupportable a fire was opened from the defences and the houses adjacent, that the assailants were beat off with considerable loss. It would seem, that to aid him in the defence of his post, Brigadier MacIntosh had called in some soldiers who had been posted in the street leading to Wigan. Preston's regiment (well known as the old Cameronian, and forming part of Willis's attacking force) were therefore enabled to penetrate through that avenue, and seizing two houses which overlooked the town, did the defendants more injury than they sustained from any other attack. The barricade, commanded by Lord Charles Murray was, in like manner, stoutly attacked, and fiercely defended; but the Jacobite officer receiving a reinforcement of fifty volunteers, his resistance was ultimately successful. Captains Hunter and Douglas likewise made a desperate defence at the barrier intrusted to them, and the assault upon the post defended by the Chief of MacIntosh, was equally fatal to the assailants.

When the soldiers of Willis retired from their various points of attack, they set fire, ac-



according to their orders, to the houses betwixt them and the barricades. By the light afforded by this conflagration, the skirmish was carried on during the night; and had not the weather been uncommonly still, Preston, which was the scene of the contest, must have been burned to the ground.

Although the insurgents had preserved the advantage in every attack, it was evident, that, cut off from all assistance, and cooped up in the streets of a burning town, where they had but few men to maintain an extended circle of defence, nothing short of a miracle could relieve them. General Willis, whilst directing the attack on the barricades, had, at the same time, guarded every pass by which the devoted band could escape. Of those who desperately attempted to sally, several were cut to pieces; and it was but very few who escaped by hewing their way through the enemy.

On the morning of the 13th, being the day after the attack, the situation of Forster and his army became yet more desperate. General Carpenter, so long their pursuer, now came up with so many additional forces, chiefly cavalry, as completed the blockade of the place, and left



the besieged no hope of escape or relief. Willis, as inferior in rank, offered to resign, of course, the charge of the siege to his superior officer; but General Carpenter generously refused to take the command, observing, that Willis deserved the honour of finishing the affair which he had begun so auspiciously. The dispositions of the latter general were therefore so actively followed up, that the blockade of the town was effectually completed, and the fate of the rebels became inevitable.

The scene of unavoidable destruction had different effects upon the different characters of the unfortunate insurgents in Preston, in like manner as the approach of imminent peril has upon domesticated and savage animals when they are brought to extremity, — the former are cowed into submission, while the latter, brought to bay, become more desperately ferocious in their resistance. The English gentlemen began to think upon the possibility of saving their lives, and entertained the hope of returning once more to the domestic enjoyments of their homes and their estates; while the Highlanders, and most of the Scottish insurgents, even of the higher classes, declared for sallying out and dying like men of honour, with sword in hand, rather than holding their lives on the base tenure of submission.



Such being their different views of the measures to be adopted, the English determined to accomplish a capitulation at all events, and Oxburgh, an Irish Catholic, who had been Forster's tutor in military matters, went out to propose a surrender to the English generals. The mission was coldly received, and he was distinctly given to understand, that no terms would be granted excepting those of unconditional surrender, with the sole provision that they should be secured from immediate execution. He returned to the town, and the errand on which he had visited the enemy's position being understood, General Forster was nearly pistolled by a Scottish gentleman, named Murray, and his life only saved by a friendly hand, which struck the weapon upwards in the act of its being discharged.

Captain Dalzell, brother of the Earl of Carnwath, then went out in the name of the Scots, but could obtain no more favourable terms. Some time, however, was gained, in which the principal leaders had time to consider that Government might be satisfied with a few examples, while the greater part of the insurgents, in which every one's confidence in his individual good-luck led him to hope he would be included,



would escape at least the extremity of punishment. After the Scots, and especially the Highlanders, had persisted for some time in their determination of resistance, they at length found themselves obliged to surrender on no better terms than the English, which amounted only to this, that they should not be instantly put to the sword. Their leaders were surrendered as hostages; and at length, after manifesting the greatest unwillingness to give up their arms, they accepted the capitulation, if such it could be called. It certainly appears, that by surrendering at discretion, the greater part of them expected at least to save their lives.

On laying down their arms, the unhappy garrison were enclosed in one of the churches, and treated with considerable rigour, being stripped and ill-used by the soldiery \*). About

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\*) The laced clothes of the gentlemen was the temptation to this outrage. The prisoners were obliged to strip the pews of their baize linings, in order to apply the cloth to the purpose of decent covering. A family tradition runs thus: — A gentleman, who fought as a trooper in one of the Scottish



fourteen hundred men, of all sorts, were included in the surrender; amongst whom there were about two hundred domestic servants, followers of the gentlemen who had assumed arms, about three hundred gentlemen volunteers, the rest

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squadrons, was shot through the body at the barricade. He was conceived to be mortally wounded, and lay stretched in a pew in the church, an affectionate comrade supporting his head, and expecting every moment to receive his last sigh. After much sickness, the wounded man's stomach is said to have relieved itself by discharging a piece of his scarlet waistcoat, which the ball had carried into his body. The assistant, much amazed at such a phenomenon, being also one of that class of men who cannot forbear a jest, even in the most melancholy circumstances, observed, "Hegh, Walter, I am fain to see you have a stock of braid cloth in your bowels; and since it is sae, I wish you would exert yourself again, and bring up as much as would make a pair of breeks, for I am in mickle need o' them." The wounded man afterwards recovered.



consisting of Brigadier MacIntosh's command of Highlanders. Six of the prisoners were condemned to be shot by martial law, as holding commissions under the government against which they had borne arms. Lord Charles Murray obtained a reprieve with difficulty, through the interest of his friends. Little mercy was shown to the misguided private men, whose sole offence was having complied with what was in their eyes a paramount duty, the obedience to their chiefs. Very many underwent the fate which made them so unwilling to enter England, namely, that of banishment to the plantations in America.

The prisoners of most note were sent up to London, into which they were introduced in a kind of procession, which did less dishonour to the sufferers than to the mean minds who planned and enjoyed such a ignoble triumph. By way of balancing the influence of the Tory mob, whose violences in burning chapels, etc., had been of a formidable and highly criminal character, plans had been adopted by government to excite and maintain a rival spirit of tumult among such of the vulgar as were called, or called themselves, the Low Church party. Party factions often turn upon the most frivolous badges of distinction. As the Tories had affected



a particular passion for ale, as a national and truly English potation, their parliamentary associations taking the title of the October and the March Clubs; so, in the spirit of opposition, the Whigs of the lower rank patronised beer (distinguished, according to Dr. Johnson, from ale, by being either older or smaller), and mug-houses were established, held by landlords of orthodox Whig principles, where this protestant and revolutionary liquor was distributed in liberal quantities, and they speedily were thronged by a set of customers, whose fists and sticks were as prompt to assault the admirers of High Church and Ormond, as the Tories were ready to defend them. It was for the gratification of the frequenters of these mug-houses, as they were called, that the entrance of the Preston prisoners into London was graced with the mock honours of a triumphal procession.

The prisoners, most of them men of birth and education, were, on approaching the capital, all pinioned with cords like the vilest criminals. This ceremony they underwent at Barnet. At Highgate they were met by a large detachment of horse grenadiers and foot guards, preceded by a body of citizens decently dressed, who shouted to give example to the mob. Hal-



ters were put upon the horses ridden by the prisoners, and each man's horse was led by a private soldier. Forster, a man of high family, and still Member of Parliament for Northumberland, was exposed in the same manner as the rest. A large mob of the patrons of the mug-houses attended on the occasion, beating upon warming-pans (in allusion to the vulgar account of the birth of the Chevalier de St George), and the prisoners, with all sort of scurrilous abuse and insult, were led through the streets of the city in this species of unworthy triumph, and deposited in the jails of Newgate, the Marshalsea, and other prisons in the metropolis.

In consequence of this sudden increase of tenants, a most extraordinary change took place in the discipline of these melancholy abodes. When the High Church party in London began to recover the astonishment with which they had witnessed the suppression of the insurrection, they could not look back with much satisfaction on their own passive behaviour during the contest, if it could be called one, and now endeavoured to make up for it by liberally supplying the prisoners, whom they regarded as martyrs in their cause, with money and provisions, in



which wine was not forgotten. The fair sex are always disposed to be compassionate, and certainly were not least so in this case, where the objects of pity were many of them gallant young cavaliers, sufferers in a cause which they had been taught to consider as sacred. The consequence was, that the prisons overflowed with wine and good cheer, and the younger and more thoughtless part of the inmates turned to reveling and drowning in liquor all more serious thoughts of their situation; so that even Lord Derwentwater himself said of his followers, that they were fitter inhabitants for bridewell than a state prison. Money, it is said, circulated so plentifully among them, that when it was difficult to obtain silver for a guinea in the streets, nothing was so easy as to find change, whether of gold or silver, in the jail. A handsome, high-spirited young Highland gentleman, whom the pamphlets of the day call Bottair (one of the family of Butter in Athole), made such an impression on the fair visitors who came to minister to the wants of the Jacobite captives, that some reputations were put in peril by the excess of their attentions to this favourite object of compassion.

When such a golden shower descends on a prison, the jailor generally secures to himself



the largest share of it; and those prisoners who desired separate beds, or the slightest accommodation in point of lodging, had to purchase them at a rate which would have paid for many years the rent of the best houses in St James's Square or Piccadilly. Dungeons, the names of which indicate their gloomy character, as the Lion's Den, the Middle Dark, and the like, were rented at the same extravagant prices, and were not only filled with prisoners, but abounded with good cheer.

These riotous scenes went on the more gaily that almost all had nursed a hope, that their having surrendered at discretion would be admitted as a protection for their lives. But when numerous bills of high-treason were found against them, escape from prison began to be thought of, which the command of money, and the countenance of friends without doors, as well as the general structure of the jails, rendered more easy than could have been expected. Thus, on the 10th of April, 1716, Thomas Forster escaped from Newgate, by means of false keys, and, having all things prepared, got safely to France. On the 10th of May, Brigadier MacIntosh, whom we have so often mentioned, with fourteen other gentlemen, chiefly Scottish, took



an opportunity to escape in the following manner. The brigadier having found means to rid himself of his irons, and coming down stairs about eleven at night, he placed himself close by the door of the jail; and it was opened to admit a servant at that time of night (no favourable example of prison discipline), he knocked down the jailor, and made his escape with his companions, some of whom were retaken in the streets, from not knowing whither to fly.

Among the fugitives who broke prison with MacIntosh, was Robert Hepburn of Keith, the same person in whose family befell the lamentable occurrence mentioned this first volume, at pages 10-11.

This gentleman had pinioned the arms of the turnkey by an effort of strength, and effected his escape into the open street without pursuit. But he was at a loss whither to fly, or where to find a friendly place of refuge. His wife and family were, he knew, in London; but how, in that great city, was he to discover them, especially as they most probably were residing there under feigned names? While he was agitated by this uncertainty, and fearful of making the least inquiry, even had he known in



what words to express it, he saw at a window in the street an ancient piece of plate, called the Keith Tankard, which had long belonged to his family. He immediately conceived that his wife and children must be inhabitants of the lodgings, and entering, without asking questions, was received in their arms. They knew of his purpose of escape, and took lodgings as near the jail as they could, that they might afford him immediate refuge; but dared not give him any hint where they were, otherwise than by setting the well-known flagon where it might by good fortune catch his eye. He escaped to France.

The noblemen who had placed themselves at the head of the rebellion were now called to answer for their guilt; and articles of impeachment of high-treason were exhibited by the House of Commons against the Earl of Derwentwater, and the Lord Widdrington, in England; and the Earls of Nithsdale, Winton, and Carnwath, Lord Viscount Kenmure, and Lord Nairne, in Scotland. They severally pleaded Guilty to the articles, excepting the Earl of Winton, who pleaded Not Guilty.

Lord Derwentwater and Lord Kenmure suffered death on the 24th February, 1715-16.



The Earl of Derwentwater, who was an amiable private character, hospitable and generous, brave and humane, revoked on the scaffold his plea of Guilty, and died firmly avowing the political creed for which he suffered. Lord Kenmure, a quiet, modest gentleman, shared Derwentwater's fate; and he showed the same firmness. There is a tradition that the body of Lord Derwentwater was carried down to Westmoreland in great pomp, the procession, however, moving only by night, and resting by day in chapels dedicated to the exercise of the Catholic religion, where the funeral services of that church were performed over the body during the day, until the approach of night permitted them to resume their progress northward; and that the remains of this unfortunate nobleman were finally deposited in his ancestors' burial-place at Dilstone Hall. His large estates were confiscated to the crown, and now form the valuable property of Greenwich Hospital.

Charles Ratcliff, brother to the Earl of Derwentwater, and doomed to share his fate after a long interval of years, saved himself for the time by breaking prison.

But what chiefly attracted the attention of the public, was the escape of the Earl of Nithsdale,



who was destined to have shared the fate of Derwentwater and Kenmure.

The utmost intercession had been made, in every possible shape, to save the lives of these unfortunate noblemen, and their companions in misfortune, but it had been found unavailing. Lady Nithsdale, the bold and affectionate wife of the condemned Earl, having in vain thrown herself at the feet of the reigning monarch to implore mercy for her husband, devised a plan for his escape of the same kind with that since practised by Madame Lavalette. She was admitted to see her husband in the Tower upon the last day which, according to his sentence, he had to live. She had with her two female confidants. One brought on her person a double suit of female clothes. This individual was instantly dismissed, when relieved of her second dress. The other person gave her own clothes to the Earl, attiring herself in those which had been provided. Muffled in a riding-hood and cloack, the Earl, in the character of lady's-maid, holding a handkerchief to his eyes, as one overwhelmed with deep affliction, passed the sentinels, and being safely conveyed out of the Tower, made his escape to France. We are startled to find, that, according to the



rigour of the law, the life of the heroic Countess was considered as responsible for that of the husband whom she had saved; but she contrived to conceal herself.

Lord Winton received sentence of death after trial, but also made his escape from the Tower. As Charles Ratcliff had already broke prison about the same time, we may conclude either that the jailors and marshals dit not exhibit much vigilance on this occasion, or that the prisoners found means of lulling it to sleep. The Earl of Carnwath, Lords Widdrington and Nairne, were, after a long imprisonment, pardoned as far as their lives were concerned, in consequence of a general bill of indemnity.

Of inferior persons, about twenty of the most resolute of the Preston prisoners were executed at that place and at Manchester, and four or five suffered at Tyburn. Amongst these the execution of William Paul, a clergyman, a true friend, as he boasted himself of the anti-revolutionary church of England, made a strong impression on those of his party.

Thus closed the Rebellion and its consequences, so far as England was concerned. We must now take a view of its last scenes as exhibited in Scotland.

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## CHAPTER XII.

*The Arrival of Dutch Troops to the Assistance of Government, the news of the Surrender at Preston, and the Desertion of the Glan Fraser to the Whig Interest, all tend to discourage the Jacobite Army — A General Council of the Jacobite Leaders breaks up without coming to any Conclusion, one Party desiring to capitulate, while Mar wishes to keep the Army together till the Arrival of the Chevalier — An Offer of Submission, upon Terms, made to Argyle, and rejected — Arrival of the Chevalier, which fails to restore the Courage of his Adherents — Exertions of Argyle to put an end to the Rebellion — His March towards Perth — Exultation of the Jacobite Highlanders in the Prospect of another Battle — their Fury and Despair in its being hinted that it was intended to Retreat — A Retreat resolved on.*

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WE left the insurgents when the melancholy news of the termination of the campaign of Forster, with his Highland auxiliaries, at the



barricades of Preston, had not yet reached them; the moment it did, all hopes of a general insurrection in England, or any advantage being obtained there, were for ever ended.

The regular troops which had been detained in England to suppress the northern insurgents, were now set at liberty, and Mar could no longer rely upon Argyle's remaining inactive for want of men. Besides, the Estates of the United Provinces had now, upon the remonstrance of General Cadogan, dispatched for Britain the auxiliary forces which they were bound by treaty to furnish in case of invasion; and three thousand of them had landed at Deptford. The other three thousand Dutch troops, designed for ports in the north, had been dispersed by a storm, and driven into Harwich, Yarmouth, and elsewhere, which induced the government to order those at Deptford, as the most disposable part of this auxiliary force, to move instantly down to Scotland.

Events equally unfavourable to the rebels were taking place in the North of Scotland; and, in order to ascertain the progress of these, it is necessary to trace some passages of the life of Simon Fraser, one of the most remarkable characters of his time.



He was by birth the nearest male heir to the estate of Lovat, and to the dignity of Chief of the Frasers — no empty honour, since the clan contained a following of from seven hundred to a thousand men. The chief last deceased however, had left a daughter, and Simon was desirous, by marriage with this young lady, to unite her pretensions to the chieftainship and estate with his own. As his character was bad, and his circumstances accounted desperate, the widowed mother of the young heiress, a lady of the house of Athole, was averse to this match, and her powerful family countenanced her repugnance. Being a man of a daring character, deep powers of dissimulation, and master of the tempers of the lower class of Highlanders, Simon found it no difficult matter to obtain the assistance of a strong party of Frasers, chiefly desperate men, to assist in a scheme of seizing on the person of the young heiress. She escaped his grasp, but her mother, the widow of the late Lord Lovat, fell into his power. Equally short-sighted as unprincipled, Fraser imagined that by marrying this lady instead of her daughter, he would secure, through her large jointure, some legal interest in the estate. With this view he accomplished a forced marriage betwixt the Dowager Lady Lovat and himself, and en-



forced his rights, as her pretended husband, with the most brutal violence. For this abominable and atrocious outrage against a matron, widow of his own near connexion, and a sister of the powerful Marquis of Athole, letters of fire and sword were granted against Fraser and his adherents, and, being outlawed by the High Court of Justiciary, he was forced to fly to France. Here he endeavoured to recommend himself at the court of St Germain, by affecting much zeal for the Jacobite cause, and pretending to great interest with the Highland chiefs, and the power of rendering effectual service amongst them. The Chevalier de St George and the French King were aware of the infamy of the man's character, and distrusted the proposal which he laid before them, for raising an insurrection in the Highlands. Mary of Este, more credulous, was disposed to trust him; and he was detached on a Jacobite mission, which he instantly betrayed to the Duke of Queensberry, and which created much disturbance in the year 1703, as we have noticed in its place \*). His double treachery being discovered, Simon Fraser was, on his return to France,

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\* ) See Vol. I, page 19.



thrown into the Bastile, where he remained for a considerable time. Dismissed from this imprisonment, he waited for an opportunity where he might serve his own interest, and advance his claims upon the chieftainship of the clan Fraser and the estate of Lovat, by adopting the contending parties which should bid fairest to serve his purpose.

The time seemed now arrived, when, by the insurrection of Mar, open war was declared betwixt the parties. His cousin, the heiress of Lovat, had been married to MacKenzie of Fraserdale, who, acting as chief of his wife's clan, had summoned the Frasers to arms, and led a body of five hundred clansmen to join the standard of the Chevalier de St George. They marched to Perth accordingly. In the meantime, Simon Fraser arrived in Scotland, and made his appearance, like one of those portentous sea-monsters whose gambols announce the storm. He was first seen at Dumfries, where he offered his personal services to join the citizens, who were in arms to repel an attack from Kenmure, Nithsdale, and their followers. The Dumfriesians, however, trusted him not, nay, were disposed to detain him a prisoner; and only permitted him to pass northward, on the assurance of the Marquis of Annandale, that his presence there would be



favourable to King George and his cause. It proved so accordingly.

Simon Fraser arrived in Inverness-shire, and hastened to form an intimate alliance with Duncan Forbes, brother of John Forbes of Culloden, and a determined friend to government. Forbes was an excellent lawyer, and a just and religious man. At another time, he would probably have despised associating himself with a desperate outlaw to his country, black with the charges of rape, murder, and double treachery. But the case was an extreme one, in which no assistance that promised to be available was to be rejected. Simon Fraser obtained pardon and favour, and the influence of the patriarchal system was never more remarkably illustrated than in his person. His character was, as we have seen, completely infamous, and his state and condition that of an adventurer of the very worst description. But by far the greater number of the clan were disposed to think, that the chiefship descended to the male heir, and therefore preferred Simon's title to that of Fraserdale, who only commanded them as husband of the heiress. The mandates of Fraser, now terming himself Lovat, reached the clan in the town of Perth. They were respected as those of the rightful chief; and the



Frasers did not hesitate to withdraw from the cause of the Chevalier de St George, and march northwards, to place themselves under the command of their restored patriarch by male descent, who had embraced the other side. This change of sides was the more remarkable, as most of the Frasers were in personal opinion Jacobites. We have already noticed, that the desertion of the Frasers took place the very morning when Mar broke up to march on Dunblane; and, as a bold and warlike clan, their absence, on the 12th November, was of no small disadvantage to the party from whom they had retired.

Shortly after this, the operations of this clan, under their new leader, became directly hostile to the Jacobite cause. Sir John MacKenzie of Coul had, at the period of the Earl of Seaforth's march to Perth, been left with four hundred MacKenzies, to garrison Inverness, which may be termed the capital of the North Highlands. Hitherto his task had been an easy one, but it was now likely to become more difficult. Acting upon a plan concerted betwixt him and Duncan Forbes, Lovat assembled his clan, and with those of the Monroes, Rosses, and Grants, who had always maintained the Whig interest, attacked Inverness, with such success, that they made



themselves masters of the place, which Sir John MacKenzie found himself compelled to evacuate without serious resistance. The Earl of Sutherland also, who was still in arms, now advanced across the Murray Frith, and a considerable force was collecting in the rear of the rebels, and in a position which threatened the territories of Huntly, Seaforth, and several other chief leaders in Mar's army.

These various events tended more and more to depress the spirits of the noblemen and heads of clans who were in the Jacobite army. The indefinite, or rather unfavourable, issue of the affair of Sheriffmuir, had discouraged those who expected, by a decisive victory, if not to carry their principal and original purpose, at least to render themselves a foe to whom the Government might think it worth while to grant honourable terms of accommodation.

Most men of reflection, therefore, now foresaw the inevitable ruin of the undertaking; but the General, Mar, having formally invited the Chevalier de St George to come over and put himself at the head of the insurrectionary army, was under the necessity, for his own honour, and to secure the chance which such an impulse



might have given to his affairs, of keeping his troops together to protect the person of the Prince, in case of his accepting this perilous invitation, which, given before the battle of Sheriffmuir, was likely to be complied with. In this dilemma he became desirous, by every species of engagement, to bind those who had enrolled themselves under the fatal standard not to quit it.

For this purpose, a military oath was proposed, in name of King James VIII.; an engagement, which, however solemn, has been seldom found stronger than the severe compulsion of necessity operating against it. Many of the gentlemen engaged, not willing to preclude themselves from endeavouring to procure terms, in case of need, refused to come under this additional obligation. The expedient of an association was next resorted to, and Mar summoned a general council of the principal persons in the army. This was the fourth time such a meeting had been convoked since the commencement of the affair; the first had taken place when MacIntosh's detachment was in peril; the second for the purpose of subscribing an invitation to the Chevalier de St George to join them, and the third on the field of battle at Sheriffmuir.



The Marquis of Huntly, who had already well-nigh determined on taking separate measures, refused to attend the meeting, but sent a draught of an association to which he was willing to subscribe, and seemed to admit that the insurgents might make their peace separately. Mar flung it scornfully aside, and said it might be a very proper form, providing it had either sense or grammar. He then recommended his own draught, by which the subscribers agreed to continue in arms, and accept no conditions unless under the royal authority, and by the consent of the majority of the gentlemen then in arms. The proposed measure was opposed by the Master of Sinclair and many of the Lowland gentlemen. They complained, that by using the phrase "Royal authority," they might be considered as throwing the free power of deciding for themselves into the hands of Mar, as the royal General, with whose management hitherto they had little reason to be satisfied. The Master of Sinclair demanded to know what persons were to vote, as constituting the majority of gentlemen in arms, and whether voices must be allowed to all who went by that general name, or whether the decision was to be remitted to those whom the General might select. Sir John MacLean haughtily answered, that unless some



such power of selection were lodged in the commander in chief, all his regiment of eight hundred men must be admitted to vote, since every MacLean was a gentleman. Mar endeavoured to soothe the disaffected. He admitted the king's affairs were not in such a state as he could have desired; but contended that they were far from desperate, intimated that he still entertained hopes and in the same breath deprecated answering the questions put to him on the nature of his expectations. He was, however, borne down with queries, and being reminded that he could not propose remaining at Perth, when the Duke of Argyle, reinforced by six thousand Dutch, should move against him on one side, and Sutherland, with all the northern clans in the government interest, should advance on the other, it was demanded, where he proposed to make a stand. Inverness was named; and the shire of Murray was pointed out as sufficient to find subsistence for a considerable army. But Inverness, if not already fallen, was in imminent danger; Murray, though a fertile country, was a narrow district, which would be soon exhausted; and it seemed to be the general opinion, that if pressed by the Government forces, there would be no resource save falling back into the barren regions of the Highlands. The Master of Sinclair asked,



at what season of the year forage and other necessities for cavalry were to be found in the hills? Glengarry made a bizarre but very intelligible reply, "that such accommodations were to be found in the Highlands at every season — by those who were provident enough to bring them with them."

The main argument of Mar was, to press upon the dissentients the dishonour of deserting the King, when he was on the point of throwing himself on their loyalty. They replied, he alone knew the king's motions; of which they had no such assurances as could induce them to refuse any opportunity of saving themselves, their families, and estates from perdition, merely to preserve some punctilious scruples of loyalty, by which the King could gain no real advantage. They complained that they had been lured into the field by promises of troops, arms, ammunition, treasure, and a general of military talent — all to be sent by France; and that, these reports proving totally false, they did not incline to be detained there upon rumours of the King's motions, which might be equally fallacious, as they came from the same quarter. In a word, the council of war broke up without coming to a resolution; and there was, from



that time, established in the army a party who were opposed to Mar's conduct of affairs, who declared for opening a negotiation with the Duke of Argyle, and were distinguished at head-quarters as grumblers and mutineers.

These gentlemen held a meeting at the Master of Sinclair's quarters, and opened a communication with Mar, in which they urged the total inadequacy of any resistance which they could now offer — the exhaustion of their supplies of ammunition, provision, and money — the impossibility of their making a stand until they reached the Highland mountains — and the equal impossibility of subsisting their cavalry if they plunged into these wildernesses. They declared, that they did not desire to separate themselves from the army; all they wished to know was, whether an honourable capitulation could be obtained for all who were engaged; and if dishonourable terms were offered, they expressed themselves determined to fight to the death rather than accept them.

While such were the sentiments of the Low country gentlemen, dejected at their total want of success, and the prospect of misery and ruin which they saw fast approaching, the Highland



chiefs and clans were totally disinclined to any terms of accommodation. Their warlike disposition made the campaign an enjoyment to them; the pay, which Mar dispensed liberally, was, while it lasted, an object with people so poor; and finally, they entertained the general opinion, founded upon the convention made with their ancestors after the war of 1688-9, that they might at worst retreat into their hills, where, rather than incur the loss of men and charges necessary for suppressing them, the Government would be glad to grant them peace upon their own terms, and, perhaps, not averse to pay them for accepting it. Another class of men having influence in such a singular camp, were the nobility, or men of quality, who had joined the cause. Most of these were men of high titles but broken fortunes, whose patrimony was overburdened with debt. They had been early treated by Mar with distinction and preference, for their rank gave credit to the cause which their personal influence could not greatly have advanced. They enjoyed posts of nominal rank in the insurrectionary army; and the pay conforming to these was not less acceptable to them than to the Highlanders. It may be also supposed, that they were more particularly acquainted than others with the reasons Mar had for actually



expecting the King; and might, with spirit worthy of their birth, be willing to incur the worst extremities of war, rather than desert their monarch at the moment when, by their own invitation, he came to throw himself on their fidelity. These noblemen, therefore, supported the measures and authority of the commander, and discountenanced any proposals to treat.

Notwithstanding the aid of the nobles and the Highland chiefs, Mar found himself compelled so far to listen to the representations of the discontented party, as to consent that application should be made to the Duke of Argyle to learn whether any capitulation could be allowed. There was so little faith betwixt the officers and their general, that the former insisted on naming one of the delegates who were to be sent to Stirling about the proposed negotiation. The offer of submission upon terms was finally intrusted to Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, the officer of highest rank who had been made prisoner at Sheriffmuir. The Colonel, agreeably to a previous engagement, returned with an answer to the proposal of submission, that the Duke of Argyle had no commission from court to treat with the insurgents as a body, but only with such individuals as might submit themselves;



but his Grace promised that he would send the Duke of Roxburghe to court, for the purpose of soliciting such powers for a general pacification. A more private negotiation, instituted by the Countess of Murray, whose second son, Francis Stewart, was engaged in the rebellion, received the same answer, with this addition, that the Duke of Argyle would not hear her pronounce the name of Mar, in whose favour she had attempted to make some intercession.

Upon this unfavourable reception of the proposal of submission, it was not difficult to excite the resentment of those who had declared for war, against that smaller party which advocated peace. The Highlanders, whose fierce temper was easily awakened to fury, were encouraged to insult and misuse several of the Low-country gentry, particularly the followers of Huntly, tearing the cockades out of their hats, and upbraiding them as cowards and traitors. The Master of Sinclair was publicly threatened by Farquharson of Inverey, a Highland vassal of the Earl of Mar; but his well-known ferocity of temper, with his habit of going continually armed, seem to have protected him.

About this time, there were others among Mar's principal associates who became desirous



of leaving his camp at Perth. Huntly, much disgusted with the insults offered to his vassals, and the desperate state of things at Perth, was now preparing to withdraw to his own country, alleging that his presence was necessary to defend it against the Earl of Sutherland, whose march southward must be destructive to the estates of his family. The movements of the same Earl with the clans of Rosses, MacKays, Frasers, Grants, and others, alarmed Seaforth also for the security of his dominions in Kintail; and he left Perth, to march northward, for the defence of his property, and the wives, families, and houses of his vassals in arms. Thus were two great limbs lopped off from Mar's army, at the time when it was about to be assailed by government with collected strength. Individuals also became dispirited, and deserted the enterprise. There was at least one man of consideration who went home from the field of battle at Sheriffmuir — sat down by his own hearth, and trusting to the clemency of the government, renounced the trade of king-making. Others, in parties or separately, had already adopted the same course; and those who, better known, or more active, dared not remain at home, were seeking passages to foreign parts from the eastern ports of Scotland. The Master of Sinclair, after



exchanging mutual threats and defiances with Mar and his friends, left the camp at Perth, went north and visited the Marquis of Huntly. He afterwards escaped abroad from the Orkney Islands.

Amidst this gradual but increasing defection, Mar, by the course of his policy, saw himself at all rates obliged to keep his ground at Perth, since he knew, what others refused to take upon his authority, that the Chevalier de St George was very shortly to be expected in his camp.

This Prince, unfortunate from his very infancy, found himself, at the time of this struggle in his behalf, altogether unable to assist his partisans. He had been expelled from France by the Regent Duke of Orleans, and even the provision of arms and ammunition, which he was able to collect from his own slender funds, and those of his followers, or by the munificence of his allies, was intercepted in the ports of France. Having, therefore, no more effectual mode of rendering them assistance, he generously, or desperately, resolved to put his own person in the hazard, and live and die along with them. As a soldier, the Chevalier de St George had shown courage upon several other



occasions; that is, he had approached the verge of battle as near as persons of his importance are usually suffered to do. He was handsome in person, and courteous and pleasing in his manners; but his talents were not otherwise conspicuous, nor did he differ from the ordinary class of great persons, whose wishes, hopes, and feelings, are uniformly under the influence and management of some favourite minister, who relieves his master of the inconvenient trouble of thinking for himself upon subjects of importance. The arrival of a chief, graced with such showy qualities as James possessed, might have given general enthusiasm to the insurrection at its commencement, but could not redeem it when it was gone to ruin; any more than the unexpected presence of the captain on board a half-wrecked vessel can, of itself, restore the torn rigging which cannot resist the storm, or mend the shattered planks which are yawning to admit the waves.

The Chevalier thus performed his romantic adventure: — Having traversed Normandy disguised in a mariner's habit, he embarked at Dunkirk aboard a small vessel, formerly a privateer, as well armed and manned as time would admit, and laden with a cargo of brandy. On



the 22d December, 1715, he landed at Peterhead, having with him a retinue of only six gentlemen; the rest of his train and equipage being to follow him in two other small vessels. Of these, one reached Scotland, but the other was shipwrecked. The Earl of Mar, with the Earl Marischal, and a chosen train of persons of quality, to the number of thirty, went from Perth to kiss the hands of the Prince for whose cause they were in arms. They found him at Fetteresso, discomposed with the ague, — a bad disorder to bring to a field of battle. The deputation was received with the courtesy and marks of favour which could not be refused, although their news scarce deserved a welcome. While the episcopal clergy of the diocese of Aberdeen congratulated themselves and James on the arrival of a Prince, trained like Moses, Joseph, and David, in the school of adversity, his General had to apprise his Sovereign of the cold tidings, that his education in that severe academy had not yet ended. The Chevalier de St George now for the first time received the melancholy intelligence, that for a month before his arrival it had been determined to abandon Perth, which had hitherto been their head-quarters, and that, as soon as the enemy began to advance, they would be under the necessity of retreating into the wild Highlands.



This was a reception very different from what the Prince anticipated. Some hopes were still entertained, that the news of the Chevalier's actual arrival might put new life into their sinking cause, bring back the friends who had left their standard, and encourage new ones to repair thither, and the experiment was judged worth trying. For giving the greater effect to his presence, he appeared in royal state as he passed through Brechin and Dundee, and entered Perth itself with an affectation of majesty.

James proceeded to name a Privy Council, to whom he made a speech, which had little in it that was encouraging to his followers. In spite of a forced air of hope and confidence, it was too obvious that the language of the Prince was rather that of despair. There was no rational expectation of assistance in men, money or arms, from abroad, nor did his speech hold out any such. He was come to Scotland, he said, merely that those who did not chuse to discharge their own duty, might not have it in their power to make his absence an apology; and the ominous words escaped him, that for him it was no new thing to be unfortunate, since his whole life, from his cradle, had been a constant series of misfortune, and he was prepared, if it so



pleased God, to suffer the extent of the threats which his enemies threw out against him." These were not encouraging words, but they were the real sentiments of a spirit broken with disappointment. The Grand Council, to whom this royal speech was addressed, answered it by a declaration of their purpose of fighting the Duke of Argyle; and it is incredible how popular this determination was in the army, though reduced to one-fourth of their original numbers. The intelligence of the arrival of the Chevalier de St George was communicated to Seaforth, Lord Huntly, and other persons of consequence who had formerly joined his standard, but they took no notice of his summons to return thither. He continued, notwithstanding, to act the Sovereign. Six proclamations were issued in the name of James the Eighth of Scotland and Third of England: The first appointed a general thanksgiving for his safe arrival in the British kingdoms — a second, commanded prayers to be offered up for him in all churches — a third, enjoined the currency of foreign coins — a fourth, directed the summoning together the Scottish Convention of Estates — a fifth, commanded all the fencible men to join his standard — and a sixth, appointed the 23d of January for the ceremony of his coronation. A letter from the Earl



of Mar was also published respecting the King, as he is called, in which, with no happy selection of phrase, he is termed the *finest* gentleman in person and manners, with the *finest* parts and capacity for business, and the *finest* writer whom Lord Mar ever saw; in a word, every way fitted to make the Scots a happy people, were his subjects worthy of him.

But with these flattering annunciations came forth one of a different character. The village of Auchterarder, and other hamlets lying between Stirling and Perth, with the houses, corn, and forage, were ordered by James's edict to be destroyed, lest they should afford quarters to the enemy in their advance. In consequence of this, the town above named and several villages were burned to the ground, while their inhabitants, with old men and women, children and infirm persons, were driven from their houses in the extremity of one of the hardest winters which had for a long time been experienced even in these cold regions. There is every reason to believe, that the alarm attending this violent measure greatly overbalanced any hopes of better times, excited by the flourishing proclamations of the newly-arrived candidate for royalty.



While the insurgents at Perth were trying the effect of adulatory proclamations, active measures of a very different kind were in progress. The Duke of Argyle had been in Stirling since the battle of 12th November, collecting gradually the means of totally extinguishing the rebellion. His secret wish probably was, that it might be ended without farther bloodshed of his misguided countrymen, by dissolving of itself. But the want of a battering train, and the extreme severity of the weather, served as excuses for refraining from active operations. The Duke, however, seems to have been suspected by government of being tardy in his operations; and perhaps of having entertained some idea of extending his own power and interest in Scotland, by treating the rebels with clemency, and allowing them time for submission. This was the rather believed, as Argyle had been the ardent opponent of Marlborough, now Captain-General, and could not hope that his measures would be favourably judged by a political and personal enemy. The intercession of a part of the English ministry who declared against the impeachment of the rebel lords, had been punished with the loss of their places; and, notwithstanding the services he had performed, in arresting with three thousand men the progress of four times that number,



Argyle's slow and temporizing measures subjected him to a shade of malevolent suspicion, which his message to government, through the Duke of Roxburghe, recommending an amnesty, perhaps tended to increase.

Yet he had not neglected any opportunity to narrow the occupation of the country by the rebels, or to prepare for their final suppression. The English ships of war in the Frith, acting under the Duke's orders, had driven Mar's forces from the castle of Burntisland, and the royal troops had established themselves throughout a great part of Fifeshire, formerly held exclusively by the rebel army.

The Dutch auxiliaries now, however, began to join the camp at Stirling; and as the artillery designed for the siege of Perth lay wind-bound in the Thames, a field-train was sent from Berwick to Stirling, that no farther time might be lost. General Cadogan also, the intimate friend of Marlborough, was dispatched from London to press the most active operations; and Argyle, if he had hitherto used any delay, in pity to the insurgents, was now forced on the most energetic measures.

On the 24th of January, the advance from Stirling and the march on Perth were commenced,



though the late hard frost, followed by a great fall of snow, rendered the operations of the army slow and difficult. On the last day of January the troops of Argyle crossed the Earne without opposition, and advanced to Tullibardine, within eight miles of Perth.

On the other hand, all was confusion at the head-quarters of the rebels. The Chevalier de St George had expressed the greatest desire to see the little kings, as he called the Highland chiefs, and their clans; but, though professing to admire their singular dress and martial appearance, he was astonished to perceive their number so greatly inferior to what he had been led to expect, and expressed an apprehension that he had been deceived and betrayed. Nor did the appearance of this prince excite much enthusiasm on the part of his followers. His person was tall and thin; his look and eye dejected by his late bodily illness; and his whole bearing lacking the animation and fire which ought to characterise the leader of an adventurous, or rather desperate cause. He was slow of speech and difficult of access, and seemed little interested in reviews of his men, or martial displays of any kind. The Highlanders, struck with his resemblance to an automaton, asked if he could



speaking; and there was a general disappointment, arising rather, perhaps, from the state of anxiety and depression in which they saw him, than from any natural want of courage in the unhappy Prince himself. His extreme attachment to the Catholic religion, also reminded such of his adherents as acknowledged the reformed church, of the family bigotry on account of which his father had lost his kingdom; and they were much disappointed at his refusal to join in their prayers and acts of worship, and at the formal precision with which he adhered to his Popish devotions.

Yet the Highlanders, though few in numbers, still looked forward with the utmost spirit, and something approaching to delight, to the desperate conflict which they conceived to be just approaching; and when, on the 28th January, they learned that Argyle was actually on his march towards Perth, it seemed rather to announce a jubilee than a battle with fearful odds. The chiefs embraced, drank to each other, and to the good day which was drawing near; the pipes played, and the men prepared for action with that air of alacrity which a warlike people express at the approach of battle.



When, however, a rumour, first slowly whispered, then rapidly spreading among the clans, informed them, that notwithstanding all the preparations in which they had been engaged, it was the General's purpose to retire before the enemy without fighting, the grief and indignation of these men, taught to think so highly of their ancestors' prowess, and feeling no inferiority in themselves, rose to a formidable pitch of fury, and they assailed their principal officers in the streets with every species of reproach. "What can we do?" was the helpless answer of one of these gentlemen, a confidant of Mar. "Do?" answered an indignant Highlander; "Let us do that which we were called to arms for, which certainly was not to run away. Why did the King come hither? — was it to see his subjects butchered like dogs, without striking a blow for their lives and honour?" When the safety of the king's person was urged as a reason for retreat, they answered — "Trust his safety to us; and if he is willing to die like a prince, he shall see there are ten thousand men in Scotland willing to die with him."

Such were the general exclamations without doors, and those in the councils of the Cheva-



lier were equally violent. Many military men of skill gave it as their opinion, that though Perth was an open town, yet it was so far a safe post, that an army could not, by a *coup-de-main*, take it out of the hands of a garrison determined on its defence. The severity of the snow-storm, and of the frost, precluded the opening of breaches; the country around Perth was laid desolate; the Duke of Argyle's army consisted in a great measure of Englishmen and foreigners, unaccustomed to the severe climate of Scotland; and vague hopes were expressed, that, if the General of Government should press an attack upon the town, he might receive such a check as would restore the balance between the parties. To this it was replied, that not only the superiority of numbers, and the advantage of discipline, were on the side of the royal army, but that the garrison at Perth was destitute of the necessary provisions and ammunition; and that the Duke of Argyle had men enough at once to form the blockade of that town, and take possession of Dundee, Aberdeen, and all the counties to the northward of the Tay, which they lately occupied; while the Chevalier, cooped up in Perth, might be permitted for some time to see all the surrounding country in his enemy's possession, until it



would finally become impossible for him to escape. In the end it was resolved in the councils of the Chevalier de St George, that to attempt the defence of Perth would be an act of desperate chivalry. To reconcile the body of the army to the retreat, reports were spread that they were to make a halt at Aberdeen, there to be joined by a considerable body of troops which were expected to arrive from abroad, and advance again southwards under better auspices. But it was secretly understood that the purpose was to desert the enterprise, to which the contrivers might apply the lines of the poet —

In an ill hour did we these arms commence,  
Fondly brought here, and foolishly sent hencé.

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## CHAPTER XIII.

*Retreat of the Jacobite Army from Perth — Escape of the Chevalier and the Earl of Mar on board a Vessel at Montrose — Dispersion of the Jacobite Army — Incapacity of Mar as a General — Argyle's Arrival in London, and Reception at Court — he is deprived of all his Employments — Causes of this Act of Ingratitude on the part of the English Government — Trial of the Jacobite Prisoners, at Carlisle — Disarming of the Highlanders — Sale of Forfeited Estates — Plan of Charles XII of Sweden for Restoring the Stewarts — Expedition fitted out by Cardinal Alberoni for the same purpose — Battle of Glenshiel — the Enterprise Abandoned.*

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WHATEVER reports were spread among the soldiers, the principal leaders had determined to commence a retreat, at the head of a discontented army, degraded in their own opinion, distrustful of their officers, and capable, should these suspicions ripen into a fit of fury, of



carrying off both King and General into the Highlands, and there waging an irregular war after their own manner.

On the 28th of January, an alarm was given in Perth of the Duke of Argyle's approach, and it is remarkable, that, although in the confusion, the general officers had issued no orders what measures were to be taken in case of this probable event, yet the clans themselves, with intuitive sagacity, took the strongest posts for checking any attack; and, notwithstanding a momentary disorder, were heard to cheer each other with the expression, "they should do well enough." The unhappy Prince himself was far from displaying the spirit of his partisans. He was observed to look dejected, and to shed tears, and heard to say, that instead of bringing him to a crown, they had led him to his grave. "Weeping," said Prince Eugene, when he heard this incident, "is not the way to conquer kingdoms."

The retreat commenced under all these various feelings. On the 30th of January, the anniversary of Charles the First's decapitation, and ominous therefore to his grandson, the Highland army filed off upon the ice, which



then covered the Tay, though a rapid and deep stream. The town was shortly afterwards taken possession of by a body of the Duke of Argyle's dragoons; but the weather was so severe, and the march of the rebels so regular, that it was impossible to push forward any vanguard of strength sufficient to annoy their retreat.

On the arrival of the rebels at the seaport of Montrose, a rumour arose among the Highlanders, that the King, as he was termed, the Earl of Mar, and some of their other principal leaders, were about to abandon them, and take their flight by sea. To pacify the troops, orders were given to continue the route towards Aberdeen; the equipage and horses of the Chevalier de St George were brought out before the gate of his lodgings, and his guards were mounted as if to proceed on the journey. But before the hour appointed for the march, James left his apartments privately for those of the Earl of Mar, and both took a by-road to the water's edge, where a boat waited to carry them in safety on board a small vessel prepared for their reception. The safety of these two personages being assured, boats were sent to bring off Lord Drummond, and a few other gentlemen, most of them belonging to the Chevalier's



household; and thus the son of James II once more retreated from the shores of his native country, which, on this last occasion, he seemed to have visited for no other purpose than to bring away his General in safety.

General Gordon performed the melancholy and irksome duty of leading to Aberdeen the disheartened remains of the Highland army, in which the Lord Marischal lent him assistance, and brought up the rear. It is probable that the rage of the men, on finding themselves deserted, might have shown itself in some acts of violence and insubordination; but the approach of the Duke of Argyle's forces, which menaced them in different columns, prevented this catastrophe. A sealed letter, to be opened at Aberdeen, contained the secret orders of the Chevalier for General Gordon and his army. When opened, it was found to contain thanks for their faithful services; an intimation, that disappointments had obliged him to retire abroad; and a full permission to his adherents either to remain in a body and treat with the enemy, or disperse, as should best appear to suit the exigency of the time. The soldiers were at the same time apprised that they would cease to receive pay.



A general burst of grief and indignation attended these communications. Many of the insurgents threw down their arms in despair, exclaiming, that they had been deserted and betrayed, and were now left without either king or general. The clans broke up into different bodies, and marched to the mountains, where they dispersed, each to its own hereditary glen. The gentlemen and Lowlanders who had been engaged, either skulked among the mountains, or gained the more northerly shires of the country, where vessels sent from France to receive them, carried a great part of them to the continent.

Thus ended the Rebellion of 1715, without even the usual sad eclat of a defeat. It proved fatal to many ancient and illustrious families in Scotland, and appears to have been an undertaking too weighty for the talents of the person whom chance, or his own presumption, placed at the head of it. It would be unjust to the memory of the unfortunate Mar, not to acquit him of cowardice or treachery, but his genius lay for the intrigues of a court, not the labours of a campaign. He seems to have fully shared the chimerical hopes which he inspired amongst his followers, and to have relied upon the for-



eign assistance which the Regent Duke of Orleans wanted both power and inclination to afford. He believed, also, the kingdom was so ripe for rebellion, that nothing was necessary save to kindle a spark in order to produce a general conflagration. In a word, his trust was reposed in what is called the chapter of accidents. Before the battle of Sheriffmuir, his inactivity seems to have been unpardonable, since he suffered the Duke of Argyle, by assuming a firm attitude, to neutralize and control a force of four times his numbers; but after that event, to continue the enterprise was insanity, since each moment he lingered brought him nearer the edge of the precipice. Yet even the Chevalier was invited over to share the dangers and disgrace of an inevitable retreat. In short, the whole history of the insurrection shows that no combination can be more unfortunate than that of a bold undertaking with an irresolute leader.

The Earl of Mar for several years afterwards managed the state affairs of the Chevalier de St George, the mock minister of a mock cabinet, until the beginning of the year 1721, when he became deprived of his master's confidence. He spent the rest of his life abroad, and in



retirement. This unfortunate Earl was a man of fine taste; and in devising modes of improving Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland, was more fortunate than he had been in schemes for the alteration of her government. He gave the first hints for several of the modern improvements of the city.

The Duke of Argyle, having taken the most active measures for extinguishing the embers of the rebellion, by dispersing the bodies of men who were still in arms, directed movable columns to traverse the Highlands in every direction, for receiving the submission of such as were humbled, or exercising force on those who might resist. He arrived at Edinburgh on the 27th of February, when the magistrates, who had not forgot his bold march to rescue the city when menaced by Brigadier MacIntosh, entertained him with magnificence. From thence he proceeded to London, where he was received with distinction by George I.

And now you are doubtless desirous of knowing with what new honours, augmented power, or increased wealth, the King of England rewarded the man, whose genius had supplied the place of fourfold numbers, and who had se-



cured to his Majesty the crown of one at least of his kingdoms, at a moment when it was tottering on his head. I will answer you in a word. In a very short while after the conclusion of the war, *the Duke of Arglye was deprived of all his employments.* The cause of this extraordinary act of court ingratitude must be sought in the personal hatred of the Duke of Marlborough, in the high spirit of the Duke of Argyle, which rendered him a troublesome and unmanageable member of a ministerial cabinet, and probably in some apprehension of this great man's increasing personal influence in his native country of Scotland, where he was universally respected, and beloved by many even of the party which he had opposed in the field.

It is imagined, moreover, that the Duke's disgrace at Court was, in some degree, connected with a legislative enactment of a very doubtful tendency, which was used for the trial of the rebel prisoners. We have already mentioned the criminal proceedings under which the Preston prisoners suffered. Those who had been taken in arms at Sheriffmuir and elsewhere in Scotland, ought, according to the laws, both of Scotland and England, to have been



tried in the country where the treason was committed. But the English lawyers had in recollection the proceedings in the year 1707, when it was impossible to obtain from Grand Juries in Scotland the verdict of a true bill, on which the prisoners could be sent to trial. The close connexion, by friendship and alliance, even of those families which were most opposed as Whigs and Tories, made the victorious party in Scotland unwilling to be the means of distressing the vanquished, and disposed them to afford a loop-hole for escape, even at the expense of strict justice. To obviate the difficulties of conviction, which might have been an encouragement to future acts of high-treason, it was resolved, that the Scottish offenders against the treason-laws should be tried in England, though the offence had been committed in their own country. This was no doubt extremely convenient for the prosecution, but it remains a question, where such innovations are to stop, when a government takes on itself to alter the formal proceedings of law, in order to render the conviction of criminals more easy. The Court of Oyer and Terminer sat, notwithstanding, at Carlisle, and might have been held by the same parity of reason at the Land's End in Cornwall, or in the Isles of Scilly. But



there was a studied moderation towards the accused, which seemed to intimate, that if the prisoners abstained from challenging the irregularity of the court, they would be favourably dealt with. Many were set a liberty, and though twenty-four were tried and condemned, not one was ever brought to execution. It is asserted, that the Duke of Argyle, as a Scottish man, and one of the framers of the Union, had in his Majesty's councils declared against an innovation which seemed to infringe upon that measure, and that the offence thus given contributed to the fall of his power at Court.

Free pardons were liberally distributed to all who had seceded from the Rebellion, before its final close. The Highland chiefs and clans were in general forgiven, upon submission, and a surrender of the arms of their people. This was with the disaffected chiefs a simulated transaction, no arms being given up but such as were of no value, while all that were serviceable were concealed and carefully preserved. The loyal clans, on the other hand, made an absolute surrender, and were afterwards found unarmed when the government desired their assistance.



Meantime the principles of Jacobitism continued to ferment in the interior of the country, and were inflamed by the numerous exiles, men of rank and influence, who were fugitive from Britain in consequence of attainder. To check these, and to intimidate others, the estates of the attainted persons were declared forfeited to the crown, and vested in trustees to be sold for the benefit of the public. The revenue of the whole, though comprising that of about forty families of rank and consideration, did not amount to 30,000 *l.* yearly. These forfeited estates were afterwards purchased from government by a great mercantile company in London, originally instituted for supplying the city with water by raising it from the Thames, but which having fallen under the management of speculative persons, its funds, and the facilities vested in it by charter, had been applied to very different purposes. Among others, that of purchasing the forfeited estates, was one of the boldest, and, could the company have maintained their credit, would have been one of the most lucrative transactions ever entered into. But the immediate return arising from this immense extent of wood and wilderness, inhabited by tenants who were disposed to acknowledge no landlords but the heirs of the ancient families, and lying



in remote districts, where law was trammelled by feudal privileges, and affording little protection to the intruders, was quite unequal to meet the interest of the debt which that company had incurred. The purchasers were, therefore, obliged to let the land in many cases to friends and connexions of the forfeited proprietors, through whom the exiled owners usually derived the means of subsisting in the foreign land to which their errors and misfortunes had driven them. The affairs of the York Building Company, who had in this singular manner become Scottish proprietors to an immense extent, afterwards became totally deranged, owing to the infidelity and extravagance of their managers. Attempts were, from time to time, made to sell their Scottish estates, but very inefficiently, and at great disadvantage. Men of capital showed an unwillingness to purchase the forfeited property; and in two or three instances the dispossessed families were able to repurchase them at low rates. But after the middle of the 18th century, when the value of this species of property began to be better understood, rival purchasers came forward, without being deterred by the scruples which, in earlier days, prevented men from bidding against the heirs of the original possessor. Every new property as



exposed to sale brought a higher price, sometimes in a tenfold proportion, than those which had been at first disposed of, and after more than a century of insolvency, the debts of the bankrupt company were completely discharged. Could they have retained their landed property, or, as was once attempted, could any other persons have been placed in the company's right to it, the emolument would have been immense.

Before proceeding to less interesting matter, I must here notice two plans originating abroad, which were founded upon an expectation of again reviving in Scotland the intestine war of 1715. Two years after that busy period, Baron Gorz, minister of Charles XII of Sweden, a man whose politics were as chimerical as his masters schemes of conquest, devised a confederacy for dethroning George I, and replacing on the throne the heir of the House of Stewart. His fiery master was burning with indignation at George for having possessed himself of the towns of Bremen and Verden. Charles's ancient enemy, the Czar Peter, was also disposed to countenance the scheme, and Cardinal Alberoni, then the all powerful minister of the King of Spain, afforded it his warm support. The plan was, that



a descent of ten thousand troops should be effected in Scotland, under the command of Charles XII himself, to whose redoubted character for courage and determination the success of the enterprise was to be intrusted. It might be amusing to consider the probable consequences which might have arisen from the iron-headed Swede placing himself at the head of an army of Highland enthusiasts, with courage as romantic as his own. In following the speculation, it might be doubted whether this leader and his troops would be more endeared to each other by a congenial audacity of mind, or alienated by Charles's habits of despotic authority, which the mountaineers would probably have found themselves unable to endure. But such a speculation would lead us far from our proper path. The conspiracy was discovered by the spies of the French government, then in strict alliance with England, and all possibility of the proposed scheme being put into execution was destroyed by the death of Charles XII before Frederickshall, in 1718.

But although this undertaking had failed, the enterprising Alberoni continued to nourish hopes of being able to effect a counter-revolution in Great Britain, by the aid of the Spanish forces.



The Chevalier de St George was, in 1719, invited to Madrid, and received there with the honours due to the King of England. Six thousand troops, with twelve thousand stand of arms, were put on board of ten ships of war, and the whole armada was placed under the command of the Duke of Ormond. But all efforts to assist the unlucky House of Stewart were frowned on by fortune and the elements. The fleet was encountered by a severe tempest off Cape Finisterre, which drove them back to Spain, and disconcerted their whole enterprise. An inconsiderable part of the expedition, being two frigates from St Sebastian, arrived with three hundred men, some arms, ammunition, and money, at their place of destination in the island of Lewis. The exiled leaders on board were the Marquis of Tullibardine, the Earl Marischal, and the Earl of Seaforth.

We have not had occasion to mention Seaforth since he separated from the army of Mar at the same time with the Marquis of Huntly, in order to oppose the Earl of Sutherland, whom the success of Lovat at Inverness had again brought into the field on the part of the government. When the two Jacobite leaders reached their own territories, they found the



Earl of Sutherland so strong, and the prospects of their own party had assumed so desperate an aspect, that they were induced to enter into an engagement with Sutherland to submit themselves to government. Huntly kept his promise, and never again joined the rebels, for which submission he received a free pardon. But the Earl of Seaforth again assumed arms in his island of Lewis, about the end of February, 1715-16. A detachment of regular troops was sent against the refractory chief, commanded by Colonel Cholmondely, who reduced those who were in arms. Seaforth had escaped to France, and from thence to Spain, where he had resided for some time, and was now, in 1719, dispatched to his native country, with a view to the assistance so powerful a chief could give to the projected invasion.

On his arrival at his own island of Lewis, Seaforth speedily raised a few hundred Highlanders, and crossed over to Kintail, with the purpose of giving a new impulse to the insurrection. Here he made some additions to his clan levies; but, ere he could gather any considerable force, General Wightman marched against him with a body of regular troops from Inverness, aided by the Monroes, Rosses,



and other loyal or whig clans of the northern Highlands.

They found Seaforth in possession of a pass called Strachells, near the great valley of Glenshiel. A desultory combat took place, in which there was much skirmishing and sharp-shooting, the Spaniards and Seaforth's men keeping the pass. George Monro, younger of Culcairn, engaged on the side of government, received during this action a severe wound, by which he was disabled for the time. As the enemy continued to fire on him, the wounded chief commanded his servant, who had waited by him, to retire, and, leaving him to his fate, to acquaint his father and friends that he had died honourably. The poor fellow burst into tears, and, asking his master how he could suppose he would forsake him in that condition, he spread himself over his body, so as to intercept the balls of the enemy, and actually received several wounds designed for his master. They were both rescued from the most imminent peril by a sergeant of Culcairn's company, who had sworn an oath on his dirk that he would accomplish his chief's deliverance.

The battle was but slightly contested; but the advantage was on the side of the MacKen-



zies, who lost only one man, while the government troops had several killed and wounded. They were compelled to retreat without dislodging the enemy, and to leave their own wounded on the field, many of whom the victors are said to have dispatched with their dirks. But though the MacKenzies obtained a partial success, it was not such as to encourage perseverance in the undertaking, especially as their chief, Lord Seaforth, being badly wounded, could no longer direct their enterprise. They determined, therefore, to disperse as soon as night fell, the rather that several of their allies were not disposed to renew the contest. One clan, for example, had been lent to Seaforth for the service of the day, under the special paction on the part of the chief, that however the battle went, they should return before next morning; this occasional assistance being only regarded in the light of a neighbourly accommodation to Lord Seaforth.

The wounded Earl, with Tullibardine and Marischal, escaped to the continent. The three hundred Spaniards next day laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners. The affair of Glenshiel might be called the



last faint sparkle of the great Rebellion of 1715, which was fortunately extinguished for want of fuel. A vague rumour of Earl Marischal's having relanded had, however, well nigh excited a number of the most zealous Jacobites once more to take the field, but it was contradicted before they adopted so rash a step.

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Scott, Walter,

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